The Journal of Historical Review

Brian A. Renk

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From the Editor

This Fall 1991 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* begins with two more nails in the coffin of what Editorial Advisory Committee member Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich has called the "Auschwitz myth."

The first, Brian Renk's exposé of what has seemed to a number of Exterminationists the long-sought "smoking gun" ("dusty document" would be better) to prove that yes, there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, there was a German program to exterminate the Jews, and the Führer not merely knew about it, he had specifically ordered it. Not so, demonstrates Renk, a promising young Revisionist scholar from Canada who painstakingly studied the so-called "Franke-Gricksch," or "Resettlement Action," report, establishing that it is certainly a fraud. By doing so, he's landed a heavy blow against two heavyweights in the Exterminationist camp, Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac, both of whom make much of the document (it was Professor Fleming who first brought the "Resettlement Action" report to prominence in his attempt to refute David Irving's thesis that Hitler had not ordered the alleged extermination). We have high hopes that Mr. Renk, a student of history on the college level who attended last year's Tenth IHR Conference, will be a featured speaker at a future conference.

Enrique Aynat, who represents Spain on the JHR's diverse and indeed cosmopolitan Editorial Advisory Committee, weighs in with a careful examination of the reportage on Auschwitz and the "Final Solution" in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, the leading propaganda organ of the London-based Polish Government-in-Exile. As in the Watergate hearings, "What did they know and when did they know it?" is the question, the significance of which, for Auschwitz, was first made clear by Arthur Butz in his seminal *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and in his subsequent essay "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy'" (see the Winter 1982 *JHR* [Vol. 3, no. 4]), both of which bear reading again and again for anyone with a real interest in Holocaust Revisionism. Señor Aynat, whose prolific writings on Auschwitz have appeared in this journal and elsewhere, bids fair, with the Italian Carlo Mattogno and numerous colleagues

(*continued on page 380*)

The Franke-Gricksch "Resettlement Action Report": Anatomy of a Fabrication

BRIAN A. RENK

It was long presumed that the alleged German policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe was set in motion by a direct, if not a written order, from Adolf Hitler. This purported order was cited in the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-46 and in subsequent trials of "Nazi war criminals." Although documentary evidence for the "Führer Order" has remained elusive, its existence was taken for granted by Exterminationist historians until 1977.

In that year the British historian David Irving provoked considerable discussion in the historical establishment with the publication of his *Hitler's War.* Irving argued, on the basis of a painstaking study of the documentary record as well as exhaustive interviews with surviving members of Hitler's entourage, that the German leader did not order mass killings of Jews, and that he did not learn about an extermination policy until, perhaps, 1943.[1]

Anglo-Jewish historian Gerald Fleming, now reader emeritus at the University of Surrey (England), decided to deal with this problem—and specifically to respond to Irving's provocative 1977 thesis—by setting to work on a book that would prove conclusively that Hitler did indeed order the extermination of European Jewry. After several years of research and writing, he presented his case in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (German edition 1982, published in America 1984), a work that was widely hailed as a definitive response to Irving and other Revisionists.

A key document cited by Fleming in his book is a two-page report entitled "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden" ("Resettlement Action of the Jews," although Fleming calls it "Resettlement of the Jews"), which describes mass killings of Jews in gas

chambers at Auschwitz and makes explicit reference to the "Führer Order." This document, said to be part of a longer report, is alleged by Fleming to have been composed by SS Sturmbannführer (Major) Alfred Franke-Gricksch, a high-ranking official in the SS personnel main office in Berlin, shortly after an inspection tour of Auschwitz-Birkenau in May 1943.

The "Resettlement Action" document was apparently first cited by the American historian Charles W. Sydnor (in his book *Soldiers of Destruction* [Princeton Univ., 1977, p. 337]). More recently, it was published—both in facsimile and in English translation—by the French anti-Revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac in his *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989 [pages 236-239]).

The importance Fleming attaches to this report is indicated by the fact that he devotes an entire chapter of *Hitler and the Final Solution* to it. He gives this chapter the title "An Official Report from Auschwitz-Birkenau."

If authentic, the "Resettlement Action" report would seem to confirm several key points of the Exterminationist thesis:

– The phrase "resettlement of the Jews" was a euphemism for a policy of mass extermination, particularly by "gassing."

– Mass killings at Auschwitz were part of a secret program ordered by Hitler to exterminate the Jews.

– Homicidal gas chambers in the crematorium complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau were used to kill Jews during the spring of 1943.

But is the "Resettlement Action" report authentic? In this paper, we shall establish that it is almost certainly not. A careful examination of the text, as well as Fleming and Pressac's analysis of that text, will reveal the following:

– The "Resettlement Action" report is almost certainly a postwar forgery. No original, carbon copy or facsimile of the document, let alone the longer report from which it is supposed to have been excerpted, has ever been produced or is even known to exist.

– Orthographic peculiarities in the German of the "Resettlement Action" report suggest that the man who is supposed to have transcribed it did not have a German original before him.

– Specific details about Auschwitz-Birkenau given in this "report" are demonstrably false.

– Fleming and Pressac have ignored or glossed over numerous factual "errors" and gross implausibilities in this "report," indicating shoddy and perhaps even unethical scholarship.

The "Resettlement Action" Document

The following is a translation of the complete text of the "Resettlement Action" report:

[English-language heading:]

Part of a report rendered by SS Sturmbannführer Franke-Gricksch on a trip through the General Gouvernement on 4 to 16 May 1943.

Resettlement Action of the Jews

The Auschwitz camp has a special role in the settlement of the Jewish question. The most up-to-date methods make it possible to implement the Führer Order here very quickly and discreetly.

The so-called "resettlement action" for the Jews proceeds as follows:

The Jews arrive in special trains (freight cars) toward evening and are taken by a special rail track into an area of the camp specifically set aside for this purpose. There they are unloaded and are then examined for their fitness for work by a medical team in the presence of the camp commandant and several SS officers. Here every person who can somehow be integrated into the labor program is taken to a special camp. Temporarily sick persons are immediately taken to the recuperation camp and are restored to health with a special diet. The basic principle is: Conserve all manpower for work. The earlier "resettlement action" policy is now completely rejected, because no one can afford to systematically destroy valuable labor energy.

The unfit are taken into the basement rooms of a large building, which can be entered from the outside. They go down five or six steps and come into a long, well-built and ventilated basement room, which is fitted with benches on the right and left. It is brightly lit and above the benches are numbers. The prisoners are told they are to be disinfected and washed in preparation for their new tasks. They must therefore undress completely in order to be bathed. In order to avoid any panic and disorder, they are told to arrange their clothes neatly

and leave them under a number so they can find their things again after the bath. Everything proceeds in complete calm. They then go through a small corridor and come into a large basement room that resembles a shower room. In this room there are three big pillars. Into these it is possible to introduce certain materials from above, outside the basement room. After 300-400 people have gathered in this room, the doors are closed and from above the containers with the materials are let down into the pillars. When the containers reach the base of the pillars, they produce certain substances that put people to sleep in one minute. A few minutes later, the door on the other side, which leads to an elevator, is opened. The hair of the corpses is cut off, and the teeth (gold teeth) are broken out by specialists (Jews). It has been observed that Jews have hidden jewelry objects, gold, platinum, etc., in hollow teeth. The corpses are then loaded into the elevators and are taken to the first floor. There are located ten large crematory ovens, in which the corpses are burned. (Because fresh corpses burn particularly well, the entire process requires only one-half to one Zentner [50 to 100 pounds] of coke). The work itself is carried out by Jewish prisoners who will never leave this camp.

The result so far of this "resettlement action": 500,000 Jews.

The present capacity of the "resettlement action" ovens: 10,000 in 24 hours.

[Handwritten notation in English:]

I affirm that this is a true copy of the original report. Eric M. Lipman.

(Note also the accompanying facsimile reproduction of the report, entitled "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden.")

Origins of the Document

As he worked on *Hitler and the Final Solution*, Fleming searched for proof that Franke-Gricksch had actually written the "Resettlement Action" report attributed to him. In a private letter to Alfred Franke-Gricksch's widow dated July 18, 1978, Fleming wrote:

I am writing these lines to you today because ten months ago the British Academy [of Arts and Sciences] officially granted me the research assignment to clear up once and for all, that is, to thoroughly research the following important topic, because this has not yet been done by any contemporary historian: [To find proof for] Adolf Hitler's personal, direct orders for mass

> liquidation [of Jews] as issued by Hitler during the Second World War . . . I would like to quote an excerpt from the report of May 15, 1943, signed by your husband, as it pertains directly to my topic: Hitler's personal orders for liquidation . . .

A preliminary comment: Fleming's reference to Franke-Gricksch's signature is not correct. In fact, the "Resettlement-Action" report bears only the signature of the purported copyist, Lipman. And whereas Fleming asserts in this letter that Franke-Gricksch's report was written on May 15, 1943, in his book he vaguely dates it "sometime between 4 and 16 May."

According to Pressac (pp. 238-39), a carbon copy of a report by Franke-Gricksch on an inspection tour of the General Government, the German occupation regime in Poland, was discovered after the end of the Second World War "somewhere in Bavaria" by Eric M. Lipman (whom Pressac mistakenly calls "Lippmann"), an officer with the War Crimes Branch of the U.S. Third Army. After finding the full report in Franke-Gricksch's "career file," Lipman is supposed to have made a typescript copy of that portion of the report describing Auschwitz, i.e. the "Resettlement Action" report. Pressac writes that the carbon copy of the full report was turned over to the American prosecution team at Nuremberg, and is now "thought to be preserved in the National Archives Collection reference NA RG 238." Charles Sydnor, however, who first wrote of the document, writes that "the original of this document evidently is lost amid the still unindexed collection of Nuremberg prosecution documents."[2]

If the carbon copy of the full report was in fact turned over to the American prosecution team at Nuremberg, however, the question arises as to why this explosive document was never introduced into evidence. And why is Eric Lipman the only person who seems to have known anything about it until the 1970s?

I wrote to Mr. Lipman, who now resides in Richmond, Virginia, to ask him about the "Resettlement Action" document. In a letter dated January 23, 1991, he informed me:

> [I] have disposed of most of my Nazi documents to various institutions, including Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, the Tauber Institute at Brandeis University, and the archives of Temple Beth Ahaba in Richmond.

Part of a report rendered by SS Sturmbannführer Franke-Gricksch on a trip through the General Gouvernement on 4 to 16 May 1943.

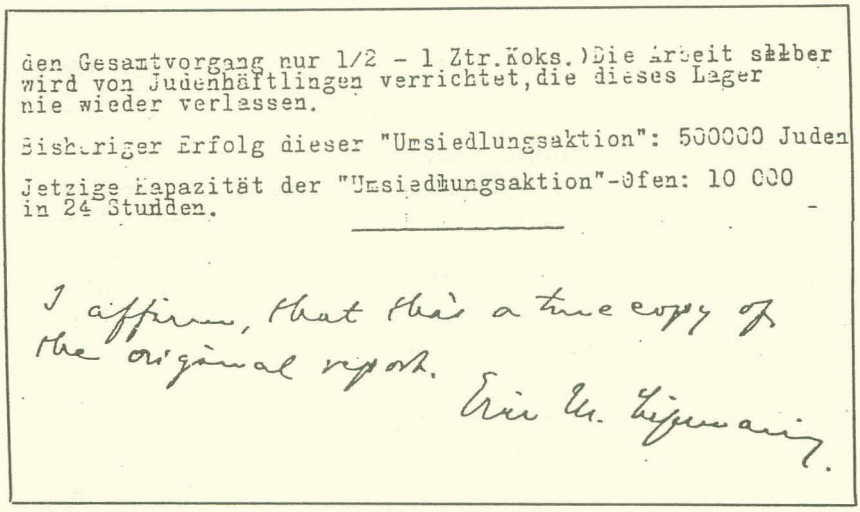
U m s i e d l u n g s - A k t i o n der Juden.

Eine besondere Aufgabe hat das Lager A u s c h w i t z in der Regelung der Judenfrage. Modernste Massnahmen ermöglichen hier in kürzester Zeit und ohne grosses Aufsehen die Durchführung des Führerbefehls.

Die sogenannte "Umsiedlungsaktion" der Juden läuft folgendermassen ab:

Die Juden kommen in Sonderzügen (Güterwagen) gegen Abend an und werden auf besonderen Gleisen in eigens dafür abgegrenzte Bezirke des Lagers gefahren. Dort werden sie ausgeladen und durch Ärztekommissionen in Anwesenheit des Lagerkommandanten und mehrerer SS-Führer erst einmal auf Arbeitsfähigkeit untersucht. Hier kommt jeder, der noch irgendwie in den Arbeitsprozess eingebaut werden kann, kommt in ein besonderes Lager. Vorübergehend Erkrankte kommen sofort in das Sanitätslager und werden durch besondere Kost wieder gesund gemacht. Grundsatz ist: Jede Arbeitskraft der Arbeit zu erhalten. Die "Umsiedlungsaktion" älterer Art wird völlig abgelehnt, da man es sich nicht leisten kann, wichtige Arbeitsenergien, laufend zu vernichten.

Die Untauglichen kommen in ein grösseres Haus in die Kellerräume, die von aussen zu betreten sind. Man geht 5-6 Stufen herunter und kommt in einen längeren, gut ausgebauten und durchlüfteten Kellerraum, der rechts und links mit Bänken ausgestattet ist. Er ist hell erleuchtet und über den Bänken befinden sich Nummern. Den Gefangenen wird gesagt, dass sie für ihre neuen Aufgaben desinfiziert und gereinigt werden, sie müssten sich also völlig entkleiden, um gebadet zu werden. Um jegliche Panik und Unruhe zu vermeiden, werden sie angewiesen, ihre Kleider schön zu ordnen und unter die für sie bestimmten Nummern zu legen, damit sie nach dem Bad auch ihre Sachen wiederfinden. Es geht alles in völliger Ruhe vor sich. Dann durchschreitet man einen kleinen Flur und gelangt in einen grossen Kellerraum, der einem Brausebad ähnelt. In diesem Raum befinden sich drei grossen Säulen. In diese kann man von oben ausserhalb des Kellerraums- gewisse Mittel herablassen. Nachdem 300-400 Menschen in diesem Raum versammelt sind, werden die Türen geschlossen und von oben herab die Behälter mit den Stoffen in die Säulen gelassen. Sowie die Behälter den Boden der Säule berühren, entwickeln sie bestimmte Stoffe, die in einer Minute die Menschen einschläfern. Einige Minuten Später öffnet sich die Tür an der anderen Seite, die zu einem Fahrstuhl führt. Die Haare der Leichen werden geschnitten und von besonderen Fachleuten (Juden) die Zähne ausgebrochen (Goldzähne). Man hat die Erfahrung gemacht, dass die Juden in hohlen Zähnen Schmuckstücke, Gold Platin usw versteckt halten. Danach werden die Leichen in Fahrstühle verladen und kommen in den 1. Stock. Dort befinden sich 10 grosse Krematoriumsöfen, in welchen die Leichen verbrannt werden. (Da frische Leichen besonders gut brennen, braucht man für



den Gesamtvorgang nur 1/2 - 1 Ztr. Koks.) Die Arbeit selber wird von Judenhäftlingen verrichtet, die dieses Lager nie wieder verlassen.

Bisheriger Erfolg dieser "Umsiedlungsaktion": 500000 Juden

Jetzige Kapazität der "Umsiedlungsaktion"-Öfen: 10 000 in 24 Stunden.

I affirm, that this a true copy of the original report.

Eric M. Lipman.

Facsimile of a report entitled "Resettlement of the Jews," allegedly written in May 1943 by SS Major Alfred Franke-Gricksch. This is supposed to be a typescript copy made by U.S. Army officer Eric Lipman from a carbon copy of the original. In fact, no original or carbon copy has ever been located. This "report" is cited by historian Gerald Fleming as a key piece of documentary evidence for the Holocaust extermination story.

Consistent with this, Pressac writes (p. 238) that the two-page report typed by Lipman is "now preserved in the Tauber Institute at Brandeis University, with other documents from the Third Reich."[3]

It is therefore quite likely that Sydnor, who teaches at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, either learned of the Lipman's typescript from Lipman himself, or discovered it at Brandeis, while he was researching his book *Soldiers of Destruction*.

In a footnote following his presentation of the "report" in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (p. 143), Fleming characterizes the existing "Resettlement-Action" document as follows:

> Typewritten copy, deposited by Charles W. Sydnor in the U.S. National Archives; one of three carbon copies from [*sic*] Alfred Franke-Gricksch's report, written on a service mission through the Generalgouvernement between 14 and 16 May 1943, is in author's possession.

In a letter to Fleming dated February 19, 1991, I wrote:

> I have been trying to locate the carbon copy from which the typewritten report was culled, and as a result, have been directed to you, as I have discerned that Brandeis and the US National Archives do not possess the carbon.

Upon reading Fleming's reply of March 1, in which he wrote, "I am sending you the requested photocopy," I rather understandably expected to receive a photocopy of the carbon copy of the full report ascribed to Franke-Gricksch. Instead, Fleming merely sent me a photocopy of the same typescript "copy," complete with English-language heading, that is reproduced in facsimile by Pressac.[4]

Thus, Fleming's statement that "one of three carbon copies from Alfred Franke-Gricksch's report . . . is in author's possession" is apparently not true.

To sum up: There is no evidence that a carbon copy of the original report was ever "found" in the SS officer's career file. Nor is there any evidence that this elusive "carbon copy" is in the National Archives, or even that such a document ever existed. The only version of this report that seems to exist anywhere is Lipman's typescript "copy" of an alleged extract from the missing report.

Analysis of the Document

The document itself, Lipman's alleged typed copy of a carbon of the original, bears no reference to a letterhead or classification number, which were routine on authentic official reports, and would have been present on the original. Oddly enough, instead of supplying the date of the report at the top of page 1, Lipman has given the dates of Franke-Gricksch's supposed trip through the "General Gouvernement" (*sic*—the correct German designation is "Generalgouvernement"), although he stumbled over the year and had to handwrite "3" over the last digit, indecipherable in the copy available to this writer, in the year.

An analysis of the text of the "Resettlement-Action" report points toward a fabrication. Although it is represented that Lipman merely typed the "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden" from the German original, the document contains tell-tale anglicisms, some of them uncorrected, some of them typed over with the equivalent German words. Thus, on the first line of the purported report, "had" for "hat"; "der," the second word of line 2, typed over "the"; and on line 3, "hier" typed over "here." On line 8 of the second page of the report, the alleged copyist typed "had," but corrected that to "hat," only to begin the following word with "t" (evidently for "the") before catching that and typing the correct German definite article,

"die." Furthermore, in the final paragraph of page 1, the English participial ending "d" is twice typed for the German "t," i.e. "ausgestatted" "ausgestattet" on line 5, which has been corrected, and "gebaded" for "gebadet" on line 9. And last, but not least, the verb "kommt" is used twice with the same subject in the sentence beginning on line 6 of the third paragraph of page 1.

These are certainly remarkable characteristics for what Fleming and Pressac advance as a simple transcription of a German original. A less trusting (or perhaps more scrupulous) interpreter might well be within his rights to suggest that this document was based on an English-language, not a German, source.

Fleming's Analysis

Fleming avoids dwelling on, or even mentioning, the textual peculiarities of the document. Instead, he limits himself to carping about the accuracy of one portion of the "report." He writes (p. 144):

> Franke-Gricksch's account of "the execution of the Führer-order," namely, the lowering of "certain materials" into a large cellar room resembling a "shower bath" and activation and release of "particular substances that put people to sleep in one minute" is a fraudulent and cynical white-washing of death by gassing.

Grasping to confirm the orthodox extermination story, Fleming regards the absurd statements which immediately follow as completely accurate. He accepts that specially chosen Jews extracted gold-filled teeth from the corpses, which were then loaded into elevators. He believes that the corpses burned very quickly in the "ten large crematoria." Fleming credulously accepts that half a million Jews had already been killed as part of this "Resettlement Action" by mid-May 1943, and that the camp's crematory ovens could "process" as many as ten thousand corpses every twenty-four hours. In support of this, he cites the incredible, and indeed fantastic, "testimony" of former "Sonderkommando" member Filip Müller, who made much the same claim.[5]

As for whom the report was intended, Fleming's viewpoint is no less unsatisfactory. He cites a letter written by Franke-Gricksch's superior, SS-Obergruppenführer Maximilian von Herff, who headed the SS Personnel Office and reported

directly to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, in which von Herff stated his intention to inspect the Auschwitz camp on May 4, 1943. Fleming goes on to argue, without advancing any evidence, that von Herff may not have visited Auschwitz after all, although he accepts that von Herff carried out the rest of the inspection tour. The reasoning for Fleming's contention here becomes evident on the next page of his book, where the Exterminationist scholar claims that Franke-Gricksch wrote the "Resettlement Action" report for von Herff. Fleming's shaky facts and logic provide, of course, the only possible rationale for Franke-Gricksch's composing such a report.[6]

In short, Fleming ignores the basic elements of historical source criticism, passing over the manifest defects and incongruities of the text of the alleged "transcript," and straining to manufacture a reason for its existence.

In any case Fleming's real authority for the authenticity of the "Umsiedlungs-Aktion" report is another, postwar, document, also allegedly composed by Alfred Franke-Gricksch, which bears the title "From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader." We shall analyze this document in the light of Franke-Gricksch's remarkable political affinities and activities from the last years of the Weimar Republic to the postwar occupation, further on in this paper.

Pressac's Analysis

In contrast to Fleming's rather superficial appraisal of the document, French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, the leading Exterminationist expert on the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau, has wrestled with the "Resettlement-Action" report at length in his 1990 *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, not always to the advantage of the report's authenticity and veracity.[7]

Pressac reproduces a facisimile of a "typed copy of the carbon copy" of the alleged Franke-Gricksch report which is identical to the one provided to this author by Gerald Fleming, except that Fleming's version does not include Lipman's handwritten sentence and signature.

Pressac acknowledges a number of serious factual errors in the "Resettlement Action" report, which he accepts as authentic. He tries to discount their importance by explaining them away as understandable mistakes. As we shall see, Pressac's apologetic explanations are woefully inadequate.

Pressac assigns the site of the mass murders described in the report to Krematorium No. II at Birkenau. Whereas the "Resettlement Action " report describes "three big pillars" in the alleged death chamber, Pressac points out (p. 239) that there were actually four pillars in this room (which was actually a mortuary cellar, or Leichenkeller). He also acknowledges as erroneous the report's assertion that there were ten large crematory furnaces in this building. In fact, there were five three-muffle crematory ovens in Krema II. Pressac's "explanation" that perhaps Franke-Gricksch was referring to the total number of ovens in Kremas II and III together cannot be valid because the document specifically asserts that these ten crematory ovens were in a single building.

Pressac also admits that the figure of ten thousand daily cremations given in the "Resettlement Action" report is a physical impossibility (p. 239, n. 8). His lame "explanation" for this absurd figure is that it must have been a product of SS propaganda. He does not explain, though, why there should be propaganda falsehoods in a confidential, internal SS report. Pressac also fails to note that this figure, which he concedes is ridiculous, has also been cited by supposedly authoritative "eyewitnesses" such as Rudolf Höss, Miklos Nyiszli and Filip Müller, as well as in the Soviet War Crimes Commission Report of May 1945 (Nuremberg document USSR-008).[8]

Pressac concedes that the "Resettlement Action" report's claim that 500,000 Jews had already been killed by May 1943 is not true. The real figure, he asserts without evidence, was "probably somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000." Pressac fails to convincingly explain just why the killers would want to exaggerate their grisly toll by at least two-fold. Furthermore, even this lower estimate is difficult to accept, given the fact that the four Birkenau crematory facilities were not completed until between March and June 1943. [9]

The "most striking and serious error" in the "Resettlement Action" report, Pressac writes (p. 239), is the assertion that the "gas chamber" had a door at each end. In fact, this room had only one door ("through which the victims entered and from which the corpses were removed," Pressac adds). Pressac's lame explanation for Franke-Gricksch's "confusion" is that he must have taken "some kind of break in his visit to the crematorium that caused him to lose his bearings somewhat."

In addition to the errors that he willingly acknowledges,

Pressac silently passes over other problematic assertions in the document. For example, Pressac does not even try to explain how Jewish "Sonderkommando" members could have begun their gruesome work of hauling bodies from the "gas chamber" only "a few minutes" after the killings without themselves promptly falling victim to the residual poisonous vapors.[10]

Contrary to the claim in the "Resettlement Action" report (and by various "eyewitness") that the lethal substance (supposedly Zyklon) was lowered or dropped into the chamber through hollow pillars, anyone visiting the site of the extant ruins of this chamber (Leichenkeller I) can easily verify that the pillars there are not hollow, but are made of solid, steel-reinforced concrete.[11]

Further, Pressac offers no explanation for the document's silly assertion that "fresh corpses burn particularly well."

Nor does he attempt to account for the report's mention of a "special rail track into an area of the camp specifically set aside for this purpose." This can only refer to a rail spur from the main Auschwitz (Vienna-Krakow) rail line into the Birkenau camp. In fact, work on this Birkenau rail spur did not even begin until January 1944.[12]

This false reference to a "special rail track" would by itself be enough to show that the "Resettlement Action" report is fraudulent, and almost certainly a postwar fabrication. Fleming's credulity not merely in accepting the "Resettlement Action" report but in making it a centerpiece of his defense of the thesis that Hitler *did* give an explicit order to exterminate the Jews of Europe, and Pressac's ineffectual lucubrations to validate it, tell a good deal about the substance of contemporary Exterminationist scholarship.

Franke-Gricksch's Dubious Diary Entry

There remains the enigma of a postwar writing attributed to Alfred Franke-Gricksch, on which Fleming bases much of his credence in the "Resettlement Action" report.

Several months after his release from British captivity in 1948, Franke-Gricksch is said to have dictated a statement to his wife entitled "From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader" ("Aus dem Tagebuch eines gefallenen SS-Führers"). This statement, which is quoted at some length by Fleming in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (pp. 146-151), would seem to corroborate the

extermination thesis, including an order by Hitler to "blot out once and for all the biological bases of Judaism."

The purported diary entry (Franke-Gricksch's actual diary of the wartime years, if it ever existed, seems to be missing), concerns an alleged meeting between Himmler, von Herff, and Franke-Gricksch shortly before the May 1943 "General-gouvernement" inspection tour. (For reasons of space, the document is not reproduced here.)

As Gerald Fleming readily concedes, even the title of this document is misleading: Franke-Gricksch did not "fall" during the war. Fleming also accepts that this "diary" entry is not a contemporary record, but was indeed written after the war.[13]

In his 1978 letter to Franke-Gricksch's widow, Fleming wrote:

> The text "From the Diary of an SS Leader [*sic*]" can only be understood if it is read together with, and compared with, the report your husband drew up for Maximilian von Herff in mid-May 1943.

Franke-Gricksch's son Ekkehard begs to differ. In a November 4, 1990 letter to this author, he explained:

> By war's end, my father was manager of the office of Maximilian von Herff, head of the SS Personnel Main Office, and a member of Himmler's inner staff. As a member of this inner staff, he was involved, above all, with the questions of socio-political, economic, and financial-political policy that the SS had to put into effect . . .
>
> Through his work with von Herff, my father gained a keen insight into the morale among the SS leaders. As indicated in the "Diary of a Fallen SS Leader," no SS man wanted to serve in the concentration camps. The supervision of labor camps seemed pointless. This matter was repeatedly raised in discussions with Himmler, as a result of the increasing discontent among the SS men.
>
> It was in this context that Himmler spoke of the assigned task of the SS to administer and supervise these camps. This [he said] was a Führer Order. Fleming turned this into the [so-called] Führer Order for the extermination of the Jews. The diary was dictated by my father after the war. From many letters, I recognize his typewriter [script] with which the diary was written . . . As a consequence of his position in the SS Personnel Office, my father visited the concentration camps, but this was only out of concern for the SS men who worked there. It was out of this that the falsification was produced.

While Ekkehard's interpretation seems plausible, he fails to explain why his father would have entitled it "From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader," or why this odd document was submitted in evidence at the 1965 Treblinka Trial.

Assuming that Alfred Franke-Gricksch wrote "From the Diary of a Fallen Soldier," what was his motive in writing it? Fleming, who recognizes that the document is enigmatic enough to require the help of the "Resettlement Action" "report" for elucidation, provides a speculative explanation that simply defies belief (pp. 152-153):

> . . . In autumn 1948, when the above account [the "Diary"] was written, von Herff was no longer alive to testify (having died in British captivity in 1945); Alfred Franke-Gricksch therefore saw himself with no choice but to supply, in as convincing and plausible a form as possible, the background circumstances of the report he made on the liquidation machinery at Auschwitz-Birkenau. He did not know at the time whether the Auschwitz ["Resettlement Action"] report had already been found and registered, but he had to reckon with the possibility that sooner or later this compromising document would indeed be found.

As we have demonstrated, though, the "Resettlement Action" document is not what it purports to be. It could not possibly have been written as an authentic first-person contemporary report. Franke-Gricksch therefore would not have had any reason to "cover himself" by writing this "Diary." In fact, it is obvious from even a casual reading of the "Diary" document that it more tended to incriminate than to exonerate Franke-Gricksch, particularly if one takes into account that the "Resettlement-Action" document has all the earmarks of a clumsy postwar forgery.

Fortunately, a look at Franke-Gricksch's ideology and background, and especially his political activities between late 1948 and late 1953, provides the most likely explanation of why this "Diary" was fabricated.

During the early 1930's, Franke-Gricksch was a leading activist in the political movement of Otto Strasser, who like his brother Gregor was a one-time comrade and later a bitter enemy of Hitler.

In his letter to the author of November 4, 1990, Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch wrote about his father's prewar activities:

> My father, my mother, the Strassers, and Himmler had known each other since about 1927. They were dedicated National Socialists, and thus followed Hitler. My father joined the party in 1928 and left it in 1930. Gregor Strasser was the witness at my parents' wedding . . .
>
> When Hitler took control of the government in 1933, and distanced himself from his original National Socialist goals . . . my father fled the country with Gregor [meant is Otto] Strasser . . . The Reich Supreme Court sentenced my father to death in absentia for treason—that is, because he was a member of the Strasser organization . . . [However] my father came to an understanding with Himmler about the Party's betrayal of the National Socialist revolution. Himmler and my father came to an agreement, and my father [returned to Germany and] joined the Waffen SS under the name of Alfred Franke—behind the back of the Party. Himmler only asked that he refrain from political activity for the time being, until the time was right for that.

In a short autobiographical statement ("Mein Lebenslauf in Stichworten") composed while in British captivity, Alfred Franke-Gricksch recalled his activist days with the Strasser organization in Prague:

> Separation from Otto Strasser due to fundamental differences of opinion in political matters. Strasser wanted his newspaper to oppose the return [to the Reich] of the Saar and Memel [territories] . . . I was of a different opinion: the Saar and Memel territories belong to Germany, and if we did not want to lose the trust of our fighters in Germany, the fight against Hitler must not be permitted to become a fight against Germany.[14]

Despite his break with Otto Strasser's "Black Front" and his enlistment in the SS, Franke-Gricksch maintained an open, indeed critical, mind. In February 1941 Franke-Gricksch sent Himmler a memorandum from Dachau, where he was serving as an officer responsible for ideological training of SS Totenkopf recruits, who guarded the concentration camps. The memorandum was, as Charles Sydnor summarizes (pp. 315-16):

> . . . subtly critical of the crude and harsh emphasis upon hatred of racial enemies and obedience to orders that Franke-Gricksch describes as the staple of political indoctrination in the SSTK. The document concludes with an appeal that Himmler revise the ideological training in the SS to include an emphasis upon what Franke-Gricksch calls the great political, economic, and

geographical issues the SS soldier needed to know to be a convinced National Socialist.

After his release from British captivity in 1948, Franke-Gricksch played a major role in organizing the "German Brotherhood" ("Deutsche Bruderschaft"), a semi-clandestine group largely made up of former Wehrmacht officers, Hitler Youth leaders, and SS men. Franke-Gricksch became the group's spokesman and "chancellor."[15]

The ideology of the "Brotherhood" reflected Franke-Gricksch's own past as a leader in the "Red-Brown" Strasser organization. The "Brotherhood" aligned itself with the Communist "National Front" and supported cooperation with the Soviet Union. A Munich newspaper reported in 1950 that the "Brotherhood" even offered to transfer its organization to the Soviet army.

By all accounts, Franke-Gricksch opposed Hitler (and "Hitlerism") before, during, and after the war. Given this record, it is reasonable to conclude that he was capable of working together with Allied intelligence personnel to furnish background information that would provide credibility for the "Resettlement Action" report. Such cooperation would also explain why an SS officer of Franke-Gricksch's standing might have been released by the British rather than being tried as a "war criminal." It may also provide a plausible motive for Franke-Gricksch to compose his back-dated, damningly anti-Hitler "diary" entry. In any case, Franke-Gricksch's political activities and aspirations indicate that he might well be willing to accept, and even help bolster for some conceivable reason of *Realpolitik*, the Allied propaganda claims about "gas chambers" and the like.[16]

But Franke-Gricksch's political activity was short-lived. Fleming reports (p. 141):

> In October 1951, he [Franke-Gricksch] went to visit his mother in Potsdam, where he and his wife were subsequently charged. For his activities with the SS Police division in Russia between August and the winter of 1942, Franke-Gricksch was condemned to death by the Russians in October 1951, in Karlshorst [a Berlin suburb], while his wife was sentenced to twenty-five years in a labor camp. In October 1955, his wife left Vorkuta and returned to West Germany.

With regard to his father's arrest and deportation, Ekkehard writes in his letter to the author (see above, p. 273):

> As a leader of the Brotherhood, my father was lured to East Berlin in late September 1951 where he was arrested by Soviet secret service agents. One or two days later his wife [Ekkehard's stepmother] was lured into the Soviet Zone with a fabricated letter containing the message that her husband had suffered a severe colic and was laid up at his mother's in Potsdam.
>
> He died on August 18, 1953, in the Vorkuta camp in the Soviet Union. My stepmother was sentenced to 25 years forced labor, but was released in 1956.

Why Franke-Gricksch was arrested, convicted, and sent off to death in the *Gulag* at precisely that time remains, no less than the motivation for his writing his fake diary entry, speculative. Could Franke-Gricksch have been playing some complicated intelligence game between East and West, Britain's SIS and its Soviet counterpart, while all the while striving to resurrect a neutral Germany following a "third way" beyond capitalism and communism?

As already indicated, Frau Liselotte Franke-Gricksch submitted the "Diary" entry as evidence for the prosecution in the 1965 West German Treblinka Trial. Interestingly, Frau Franke-Gricksch asked about her husband's fate and whereabouts in a letter of February 3, 1969, sent to the Tracing Service of the German Red Cross. Apparently she believed, or at least hoped, that her husband might still be alive in Soviet captivity. This provides a possible explanation for her decision to submit the "Diary" as evidence in the Treblinka trial. She may have believed that this act of cooperation might help procure her husband's release.

Conclusion

As we have shown, a careful examination of the available evidence shows that the "Resettlement Action" report attributed to Franke-Gricksch ("Umsiedlungs Aktion der Juden") is a postwar fabrication, most likely by Eric Lipman.

Even though this "report" is worthless as a document of historical importance, the way it has been handled and exploited by Exterminationist historians Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac is revealing. In their frantic search for evidence to prove the Holocaust story, these historians have misrepresented, ignored or white-washed the clearly false assertions in the document's text, and ignored other evidence,

including the suspiciously defective text itself, that indicates its fraudulent character.

Instead of calmly evaluating evidence, subjecting it to critical analysis, and then drawing conclusions from it, Fleming and Pressac have instead tried to portray the bogus "Resettlement Action" report as an authentic and credible document, exploiting it as "evidence" to "prove" a preconceived view. This technique, which by the most charitable interpretation might be called wish fulfillment, is precisely the opposite of how open-minded historians should go about their work.

Notes

1. Eleven years after the publication of *Hitler's War*, Irving further modified his stand on this issue. On the basis of his own further research, and impressed with the results of execution expert Fred Leuchter's investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers in Auschwitz, Irving joined Holocaust Revisionists such as Dr. Arthur Butz and Prof. Robert Faurisson, who maintain that there was no German wartime policy of extermination. For a more detailed discussion of the lack of documentary evidence for an extermination program, see: Carlo Mattogno, "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 2), pp. 133-140.
2. C. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction* (1977), p. 337, footnote.
3. In a January 1991 telephone conversation, Lipman informed me that he could not recall the Franke-Gricksch "Resettlement" document.
4. However, Lipman's handwritten sentence and signature at the end appears possibly to have been blanked out on the photocopy sent to me by Fleming.
5. Supposedly corroborating the "Resettlement" report, Fleming also cites Müller's description of the alleged gassing procedure. However, this is a description of gassings in Krema I (in the Auschwitz main camp), and not in Krema II in Birkenau, the supposed setting of gassings in the "Resettlement" report. Fleming also ignores differences between Müller's description of the gassing procedure, and the description given in the "report."
6. G. Fleming, pp. 144-145.
7. J.-C. Pressac, pp. 236-239.
8. Pressac provides no plausible explanation for his assertion (p. 239, n. 8) that "the maximum daily throughput of the four Birkenau Krematorien was in the order of 3,000 incinerations," since the coke consumption (25 to 50 kg per body) would have required 75,000-150,000 kg per day (!), and the retorts themselves could not possibly have operated at such a rate.

9. J.-C. Pressac, pp. 246, 348.
10. Whereas the "gas chamber" could hold 300 to 400 persons, according to the "Resettlement" report, both Fleming and Pressac fail to note that Filip Müller and other "eyewitnesses" have insisted that as many as 3,000 persons at a time were herded into the room.
11. Still another description of the alleged gassing procedure is given in the 1944 Vrba-Wetzler WRB report.
12. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), p. 34 (fn 3), p. 175.
13. G. Fleming, pp. 152, 153.
14. From p. 1 of a two-page typed copy provided the author by Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch.
15. Various German press accounts from the year 1950, including *Der Tagesspiegel* (Berlin), Nov. 17, 1950. Copies in author's possession, provided by Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch.
16. The case of Alfred Franke-Gricksch resembles in some respects that of Kurt Gerstein. See: Henri Roques, *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein* (IHR, 1989).

Auschwitz and the Exile Government of Poland According to the "Polish Fortnightly Review" 1940-1945

ENRIQUE AYNAT

1. Motive and Genesis

For some time I have been interested in knowing how the Polish Government-in-Exile reacted to the enormous slaughter of Jews that supposedly took place in the concentration camp of Auschwitz.

Whatever may have occurred in Auschwitz, it was the concern of the Polish exile government, for Auschwitz was on the territory of the Polish Republic until September of 1939, and the Polish government that was installed in London beginning in June of 1940, recognizing none of the territorial annexations carried out by Germany, claimed jurisdiction over all of prewar Poland.

Accordingly, I have taken as my point of departure for this study the assumption that if a great slaughter of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, the Polish Government-in-Exile would have known of it and in consequence manifested a reaction of some kind.

2. Purpose and Limits

The goal of this article is to determine what in fact was published about Auschwitz by the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, the official organ of the Ministry of the Interior of the Polish government in London; and it is therefore limited to a study, *based solely on those issues of the* Polish Fortnightly Review *published from 1940 to 1945*, of what was known by the Polish Government-in-Exile with regard to the Auschwitz camp. Other questions, such as analysis of the documents relating to Auschwitz that were sent to London by the Polish resistance, or the study of the references to that camp in the Polish underground press, have not been touched on in this investigation.

The selection of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* was motivated principally by three things:

a. the fact that it was an official organ of the Polish Government-in-Exile (see document I);

b. the fact, as pointed out by the Israeli professor David Engel, that it was one of "the principal vehicles for disseminating Polish propaganda in the English language" and "a primary vehicle through which the government released information to the Western press";[1] and

c. my incomprehension of the Polish sources, due to my still deficient understanding of that language; whereas the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, published in English, was accessible to me.

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4. Sources

Research was conducted at the end of April and beginning of May of 1991 using the collection of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* preserved in the Polish Library of the Polish Social and Cultural Association of London. The initial issue of the review was published on 15 July 1940 and the final one (number 119) on the 1 July 1945. I read through the collection issue by issue and page by page and noted that numbers 97 (1 August 1944), 101 to 106 (1 October to 15 December of 1944), and 116 to 119 (15 May to 1 July of 1945) were missing and so were not available for examination.

As for the documents cited in section 4.2 and in appendix 2, they come from the archives of the Polish Underground

Movement (1939-1945) Study Trust (Studium Polski Podziemnej [SPP]) of London.

5. Method

This study was developed in the following manner:

a. I have endeavored to find out how the Polish government was able to know what was going on inside Auschwitz and specifically what channels of communication existed between the camp and London; and

b. I have made a special point of information about Auschwitz published in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* relating to the supposed extermination of Jews there, and in particular what it published in that regard, what it did not publish, and why.

It should be noted that, when referring to Auschwitz, the *Polish Fortnightly Review* always uses the Polish designation of Oswiecim.

Lastly, the abbreviations and acronyms used in this article are as follows:

ACPW: Akcja Cywilna Pomocy Wiezniom (Civil Action in Aid of the Prisoners)

AK: Armia Krajowa (Home Army)

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BIP: Biuro Informacji i Propagandy (Office of Information and Propaganda)

PGE: Polish Government-in-Exile

PFR: *Polish Fortnightly Review*

PWCK: Pomoc Wiezniom Obozow Koncentracyjnych (Aid for Concentration Camp Prisoners)

RAF: Royal Air Force

SOE: Special Operations Executive

SS: Schutzstaffel (Protection Detachment)

ZWZ: Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej (Union for Armed Conflict)

1. POLISH INSTITUTIONS DURING THE WAR

1.1 The Polish Government-in-Exile

After the occupation of Poland by the Germans and Soviets in September of 1939, a Polish government was formed that

was determined to continue the struggle for independence, sovereignty, liberty and the territorial integrity of the Polish Republic. This new government believed that these objectives could be achieved only after the crushing of the Third Reich and by means of an alliance with the Western powers.

The cabinet was sworn in on 1 October 1939 before the new president, Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz. General Wladyslaw Sikorski was the prime minister.

For obvious reasons the cabinet met in exile. First it set up in Paris. Later, in the face of the German advance, it moved to Angers, in the western part of France. Finally, after the sudden collapse of France in June of 1940, it fled to London.

The PGE was recognized by all the Allied nations, including (from July of 1941 to April of 1943) the Soviet Union.[2]

The PGE maintained contact with occupied Poland, though its contacts of course were carried out clandestinely. Instructions, orders, directives and in general all kinds of information destined for Poland were almost always transmitted by means of the Polish section of the Special Operations Executive (SOE). The SOE, whose political chief was the British Minister of Economic Warfare, was an organization charged with carrying the war to the territories occupied by Germany. The Polish section of the SOE cooperated closely with the Polish General Headquarters in London; it sent radio messages and frequently dropped agents by parachute. Starting in 1942, the dropping of agents became routine; and from 1944 on, even airplane landings were made on improvised airstrips.[3]

1.2 The Delegatura

The Delegatura, which operated from 1940 into 1945, embodied the PGE's clandestine representation inside Poland. It was headed by a delegate (*Delegat*) and three substitutes. The delegate was assisted by a committee made up of members of the political parties on which the PGE was based. The Delegatura functioned as a shadow government and had numerous sections, corresponding to the ministries of a regular administration. The organization extended to the provinces, districts and townships and so was a broad underground network that covered all of Poland. In practice, the Delegatura directed a true alternative government, a secret state with its own educational system, its courts, its welfare

organizations, its intelligence service and its own armed forces.[4]

1.3 The Armia Krajowa

Paralleling the Polish armed forces which fought the Germans openly under British command and which were made up of Poles who had managed to escape from Poland, there existed an actual secret army, the *Armia Krajowa* (Internal Army), which operated secretly within the borders of prewar Poland.

The AK was formed in February of 1942 on the basis of a prior clandestine military organization, the *Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej* (Alliance for Armed Conflict). General Stefan Rowecki was its first commander. After the latter's detention by the Germans in 1943, General Bor-Komorowski was appointed to the post.

The AK was organized as a real army, with a general staff, professional officers, an intelligence service, a service corps, etc., and it was divided territorially in accordance with the administrative division of the prewar districts. Thus, for example, in the organization chart of the AK, the Auschwitz zone was part of the district of Silesia.

In terms of manpower, it is reckoned that in the first half of 1944 the AK numbered between 250,000 and 350,000 men, including more than 10,000 officers.[5]

2. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN AUSCHWITZ AND LONDON

2.0 Preliminary Considerations

Our immediate concern will be to find out whether the PGE in London could know what was going on in Auschwitz and, specifically, whether it could have had knowledge of a gigantic slaughter of Jews supposedly taking place in the camp.

In sum, this is a matter of determining the sources of information available to the PGE. For that it will be necessary first to establish whether in fact there were clandestine resistance organizations in the concentration camp, then whether or not they were able to obtain trustworthy information and get it out of the camp, and lastly whether they could get this information to London.

2.1 The Clandestine Resistance and Intelligence Organizations inside the Camp

A resistance organization existed in the concentration camp as early as October of 1940. It was founded by a Polish officer, Witold Pilecki, who had been arrested and sent to Auschwitz in September of 1940. About the same time, a resistance group of the Polish Socialist Party was also established; and later, in 1941, a rightist organization was formed under the direction of Jan Mosdorf. Finally, in May of 1943, an international resistance organization was created, the *Kampfgruppe Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Combat Group), which took in members of various nationalities, principally of socialist and communist ideology.[6]

The various organizations established contact with one another more or less frequently, depending upon their national or ideological affinities.

Among the objectives of the resistance was that of "gathering evidence relative to crimes committed by the SS and transmitting it abroad."[7]

As the concentration camp installations were expanded, the clandestine organizations grew proportionately. In Birkenau, an underground organization created by Colonel Jan Karcz was in existence by April of 1942. Karcz recruited a large number of members and created his own "apparatus," the only way to direct clandestine operations in such a large camp. Some of Karcz's men were placed in blocks of Jews expressly to try to help alleviate their suffering. Contact between the Birkenau organization and that of the main Auschwitz camp was maintained on an almost daily basis by means of a liaison. Gathering information was one of the principal tasks of the Karcz group.[8]

In about the middle of 1943, a secret organization was established in the Birkenau women's camp. One of its activities was the passing of information about life in the camp. Contacts between this women's group and the main camp were effected by means of a "mailbox" where secret messages were delivered and received.[9]

The growth of the resistance organizations' membership, from the time of the camp's opening, was spectacular. By 1942, Pilecki's organization alone had around 1,000 members, divided between Auschwitz and Birkenau. Pilecki states that in just one month, March 1942, he personally recruited more

than 100 persons for his group alone. The nationalist and socialist organizations grew as well.[10] In the same year, Colonel Kazimierz Rawicz, leader of a clandestine organization of prisoners, prepared a plan for a massive revolt in the camp and surrounding area, a plan which he sent to the commander of the AK so that he could set the date for initiating the action.[11]

The resistance groups were so strong by 1942 and 1943 that they had managed to introduce their tentacles into the nerve centers of camp life. Their members controlled the hospital, the work assignment office, and exercised vital functions in the central office, the kitchen, the construction office, the food and clothing warehouses, many of the prisoner work detachments (*Kommandos*) and even the political department.[12]

The clandestine groups had even gained the complicity of some members of the SS, mainly *Volksdeutschen*,[13] who had promised them assistance and access to the munitions depot in the event of an uprising.[14]

In view of the foregoing, several conclusions must be drawn:

a. that resistance organizations were already functioning by the end of 1940, scarcely more than a few months after the opening of the camp;

b. that these organizations had a considerable number of members and had spread throughout all sectors of the extensive prison complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau by at least the year 1942; and

c. that therefore, if there had been any systematic killing of Jews from 1942 on, the resistance organizations would have been in a position to know of it in detail.

2.2 The Resistance Organizations outside the Camp

Clandestine organizations also existed at an early date in the area surrounding the concentration camp. In 1940 the ZWZ created the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) district, which formed part of the Bielsko "Inspectorate." In 1942, the ZWZ took the name of Armia Krajowa.[15]

The resistance was very active in the Oswiecim district. *The Polish Fortnightly Review* gives evidence of this. It mentions,

for example, that several freight trains were derailed on the outskirts of Oswiecim in July of 1943.[16]

It was pointed out in the foregoing section that there were plans for an uprising in Auschwitz. These plans merited the attention of the general staff of the AK, which sent one of its men to the area to get a more precise idea of the situation. The officer in question was one Stefan Jasienski, who had arrived from England by parachute. Jasienski, a specialist in intelligence work, was sent from Warsaw to the immediate area of Auschwitz at the end of July of 1944. Given the importance of his mission, he was provided with all necessary contacts in the area and especially with means for secretly effecting liaison with the "military council" of the camp.[17]

Clandestine organizations were also created for the sole purpose of giving assistance to the prisoners of Auschwitz and maintaining contact with them. Thus, by the second half of 1940, a group called *Akcja Cywilna Pomocy Wiezniom* (ACPW-Civilian Action for Prisoner Assistance) was formed, the principal task of which was the collection of food, medicine and clothing, and then getting them into the camp through their camp contacts. These same contacts also served for passing messages back and forth. In May of 1943 a committee was formed in Cracow named *Pomoc Wiezniom Obozow Koncentracyjnych* (PWOK-Aid for Prisoners of Concentration Camps), the aims of which were similar to those of ACPW. The PWOK, despite the plural in its name, worked exclusively in behalf of the prisoners of Auschwitz.[18]

Having established the existence of clandestine organizations both within and outside the camp, we now have only to see how contact was established between them.

2.3 Contacts between the Camp and the Outside

Contacts between the interior of the camp and the outside were facilitated by the location of Auschwitz. As the author Walter Laqueur acknowledges, Auschwitz did not lie in a wilderness, but in a densely industrialized and very populous area, near such important cities as Beuthen (Bytom), Gleiwitz (Gliwice), Hindenburg (Zabrze) and Kattowitz (Katowice). Auschwitz, moreover, was a virtual "archipelago," with about 40 administratively dependent subcamps.[18]

Besides the peculiar situation of Auschwitz, contacts were facilitated by the fact that many of the prisoners worked

outside the camp together with members of the civilian population, and also because many civilian laborers worked within the camp.

Specifically, with regard to the civilian workers, it suffices to say that there were hundreds of them and that there were as many Germans as Poles. These workers arrived at the camp in the morning and left in the evening after finishing their day's work.[20] They were employed because of the great amount of work to be done in the camp and the fact that there were hardly enough specialized workers among the prisoners. And civilians and prisoners worked together as often as not.[21]

Due to the growing number of prisoners and the work done outside the camp, the Germans found it impossible, despite their measures of vigilance and control (barbed wire fencing, watchtowers, police dogs, patrols, etc.), to prevent contact between the prisoners and the local population, which was exclusively Polish. Segments of the population formed part of the resistance organizations. In particular, the prisoner Kommandos working in the neighborhood of the camp frequently conversed with the Polish civilians. Upon occasion the civilians hid food, medicine and packages in previously arranged locations for the prisoners to pick up. The SS guards in charge of these Kommandos often looked the other way or else allowed themselves to be bought off in exchange for a good meal.[22]

As far as that goes, the possibilities for contacts were innumerable and extended to all the camps, subcamps and installations linked with the Auschwitz prison complex: such as the Rajsko subcamp, the fish nurseries of Harmeze, the camp for free workers, and the big industrial complex set up at Monowitz for the fabrication of gasoline and synthetic rubber.[23]

Such contacts, above all those relating to the exchange of letters and packages, soon acquired a regular character. A clandestine organization in the camp would quickly set up a permanent connection enabling it to pass information regularly by letter to a resistance group in Cracow. Some 350 of these letters have been preserved in that city, "a fraction of a much more significant total."[24] The exchange of parcels between the camp and the outside grew to such an extent that, for example, a group of prisoners took it upon themselves to secretly make overcoats for AK partisan units operating in the vicinity of the camp. The packages were delivered by

prisoners who worked in the agricultural fields or at nearby subcamps.[25]

Furthermore, the existence in Auschwitz of a clandestine radio transmitter has been confirmed. It was secretly installed in the cellar of block 20 in the spring of 1942. By means of contacts and couriers the leadership of the Silesia district of the AK succeeded in finding out the wavelength on which it was transmitting. The transmitter was in operation over a period of seven months, sending information about living conditions in the camp, in spite of which the Germans never managed to discover it. It stopped sending in the fall of 1942.[26]

There were even German personnel in the camp who collaborated with the resistance, such as Maria Stromberger, a nurse who carried messages from the camp to the heads of the AK in Cracow and Silesia and in turn brought in illegal correspondence, medicine, arms and explosives. Along with her, a group of SS guards offered to help the prisoners by acting as couriers.[27]

As the result of all that, there existed even in the first year of the camp's life a permanent, even though fragile, liaison between the camp and the intelligence section of the Cracow district of the secret army; by the end of 1941 a special cell had been set up at AK headquarters in Cracow for liaison with the Auschwitz camp.[28]

Clandestine contacts between Auschwitz and the outside were already so frequent and well organized by 1942 that Pilecki, founder of one of the resistance groups within the camp, was in "constant relationship" not only with the headquarters of the AK in Warsaw but also with the commandants of the districts of Cracow and Silesia.[29]

Moreover, the information secretly got out of Auschwitz was not limited solely to messages and reports prepared by the resistance. On occasion it included even entire volumes of official German documentation, such as, for example, two volumes of the "Bunker book" (*Bunkerbuch*) in which were noted all the admissions and discharges taking place in the camp prisons. These documents were smuggled out at the beginning of 1944.[30]

The ways by which information was passed were not always strictly clandestine. On numerous occasions messages left Auschwitz by much simpler means: carried by prisoners released by the Germans. Thus, to cite only a few cases

connected with the resistance group founded by Pilecki, a first report went out by that means as early as November of 1940; in February and March of 1941, two others were sent; and at the end of 1941 another prisoner, Surmacki, was released unexpectedly and took with him to Warsaw a message from Pilecki himself.[31]

An unusually large number of prisoners was released during 1942: there were 952 releases during the first half of that year and 36 in the following six months. There was a number of releases in 1943 as well, and at the beginning of 1944 a considerable number of Jewish women were released, thanks to the intervention of a German industrialist.[32]

Another means by which information was passed to the outside was provided by the escapees. Sometimes the only purpose of the escape was to send messages out of the camp. An example of this kind of escape is that of Pilecki himself. This Polish officer decided to flee in order to persuade the heads of the AK to accept his plan for an uprising in Auschwitz and incidentally to provide information about the general situation in the camp. Pilecki escaped on 27 April 1943. Four months later, on 25 August, he reached Warsaw, where he contacted the officer who handled Auschwitz at AK headquarters.[33] Two other members of the Pilecki group had escaped previously with the identical objective of passing information to the headquarters of the AK.[34]

One may conclude from what has been stated above that because of its geographical situation and its special characteristics as a work camp open to civilian workers, Auschwitz was not the most adequate place for keeping secrets. If to that we add the efficiency with which the resistance groups worked, operating radio transmitters, enlisting the complicity of German guards, organizing escapes and utilizing released prisoners for their purposes, we should have to conclude that, for the Polish resistance, the Auschwitz camp was practically transparent. Accordingly, if there had been any massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, it would without doubt very shortly have been known in detail in the resistance headquarters in Warsaw.

2.4 Communications between Poland and London

All known sources indicate that the clandestine communications between Poland and London were on a

regular basis and that the information transmitted was abundant. General Bor-Komorowski, the commandant of the AK, has pointed out that the secret reports:

> were regularly dispatched by radio to London and in the years 1942-4 numbered 300 per month. They contained details concerning every aspect of the war. Apart from radio transmission, the essential facts of our Intelligence material were microfilmed and sent every month to London by courier.[35]

The information moreover went from the one place to the other with relative rapidity. The couriers traveled to London via Sweden or across western Europe and took several weeks, sometimes as much as two months, to arrive. Short messages, on the other hand, could be sent daily by radio to London. The Polish resistance had about a hundred radio transmitters at its disposal.[36]

Courier liaison with London was at first—from 1941 until the end of July of 1942—maintained through several members of the Swedish colony in Warsaw who, when returning to Sweden, carried messages from both the AK and the Delegatura. The periodical reports on the situation within Poland (*Sprawozdanie sytuacyjne z Kraju*) published by the PGE were based principally on material carried by the Swedes.[37]

Beginning with the second half of 1942, maintenance of communications was taken over by the Polish couriers. The most famous of these was Jan Karski (Kozielewski). Karski lived clandestinely in Warsaw in 1941 and 1942, devoting himself to psychological warfare ("black propaganda") against the German occupiers. At the end of 1942 the leadership of the resistance ordered him to carry information to London. Karski left Poland secretly in October of 1942 and arrived in England the following month after traveling across Germany and France. In London he drafted a report which became famous. The Karski case was widely heralded in the Allied newspapers. Karski even made a propaganda tour of the United States, where he met with important figures, including President Roosevelt himself.

Jan Karski was very well informed. He had specialized in the study of the underground press. Cognizant of the great historical importance of the latter, he had put together

probably "the richest collection of Polish underground material existent—newspapers, pamphlets, and books."[38] Moreover, he had occupied a privileged observation post during his period of secret activities in Poland. Thanks to his job as liaison and to his frequent contact with the upper echelons of the resistance, both civilian and military, Karski "was able to survey the entire structure of the underground movement and to form a detailed picture of the situation as a whole in Poland." [39] For that reason the leaders of the Polish underground sent him to London.

Another especially well-informed courier was Jan Nowak (Zdzislaw Jezioranski). Nowak was selected in 1943 to travel secretly to England, carrying the maximum possible information. With this in view, Nowak met that summer with the head of the *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy* (BIP-Bureau of Information and Propaganda) of the AK. The chief of the BIP was "in a sense minister of AK internal propaganda and policy. He controlled not only the military underground press, but also a widespread information network."[40] On order of this person, Nowak met also with the section heads of the BIP, among them the head of the "Jewish section," with all of whom he held "long and exhaustive" conversations over a period of one month.[41] In consequence, when he set off for London in the summer of 1943, Nowak had to be one of the persons best informed about what was going on in Poland.

Nowak arrived in London in December of 1943. Some months later, in mid-1944, he was ordered to return to Poland, where he arrived via parachute. He took part in the Warsaw uprising; after that was crushed, he managed to escape to London in January of 1945.

In short, if there had been a massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, the leadership of the resistance within Poland would not have failed to communicate it to their superiors in London, either by means of radio messages or by courier. Specifically, couriers such as Jan Karski and Jan Nowak—men specially trained to carry the maximum possible information to London—would certainly have communicated this terrible occurrence to the Polish authorities in exile.

2.5 Conclusion

It is impossible to accept that the PGE did not know what was taking place in Auschwitz. Apart from the obvious

reasons, we must also take into account the level of capability the information and intelligence system of the Polish resistance had achieved. The AK had a most efficient intelligence system, which extended its tentacles even beyond Poland. It had sections assigned to researching the economic and military problems of the German forces in Poland and behind the Russian front, and others charged with obtaining information on the economic situation inside Germany, on ship movements in the ports of the Baltic and the North Sea, and on German morale.[42] For example, in the spring of 1942 the leaders of the AK received detailed information on the number and position of the German divisions in the Ukraine and on the preparations the Germans were making to exploit the oil fields of the Caucasus.[43] The Poles also succeeded in obtaining top-quality information about some of the most highly guarded secrets of the Reich. Thus, in the spring of 1943, the AK received information that the Germans were carrying out experiments with mysterious weapons on Peenemünde, on an island in the Baltic Sea. A few weeks later Polish agents had obtained detailed plans of the area of the experiments and had sent them to London.[44] Similarly, at the end of 1943 the intelligence service of the AK detected tests the Germans were making with the V-2 rocket in the area of Sandomierz (Poland), following which extensive reports on the secret new German weapon were sent to London. It so happens that the head of this secret investigation, Jerzy Chmielewski, had been under arrest in Auschwitz and had been released on bail in March of 1944. Chmielewski personally flew to London with the reports and several components of the V-2 rocket.[45]

The BIP of the AK, furthermore, from February of 1942 on had a Section for Jewish Affairs whose principal function was to collect information on the situation of the Jewish population.[46]

In sum, the intelligence system of the Polish resistance was so well developed and so efficient that had there actually been a massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, it would have been known practically at once, in detail. In turn, detailed reports about the Auschwitz extermination would have reached London by courier in a relatively short time. Briefer reports would have been radioed immediately.

In addition, the massive annihilation of Jews in Auschwitz would have been so impossible to hide that, as author Jozef Garliński has recognized, had there been no intelligence organization whatsoever, "the secret could still not have been kept."[47]

All the facts clearly indicate, therefore, that if a slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, the PGE *would necessarily have known of it.*

3. AUSCHWITZ AND THE EXTERMINATION OF JEWS IN THE *POLISH FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW*

3.0 Preliminary Considerations

The fact which forcibly stands out after examination of the PFR collection—with the proviso that the issues of the fourth quarter of 1944 could not be examined—is that up to the 1st of May of 1945 (No. 115), *there is not the slightest revelation that Jews were exterminated in Auschwitz.* Only in issue 115, published when the war was practically over and the Allied atrocity propaganda about the German concentration camps was in full swing, do we find the first reference to the extermination of Jews in Auschwitz: it concerns the testimonies of two women who had been detained in the camp (see appendix 1).

In short, the official organ in English of the Polish Ministry of Information—its principal medium of information and propaganda abroad—did not reveal until the spring of 1945 the slightest indication that there had been a gigantic massacre of Jews, a slaughter moreover that had allegedly gone on continuously over a period of three years, from the beginning of 1942 to the end of 1944.

It must also be emphasized that the Auschwitz camp is repeatedly mentioned in the PFR, although there is no intimation that it was a place where Jews were being exterminated; and at the same time, while the extermination of Jews is frequently cited, there is never an indication that it was being carried out in Auschwitz.

Let us look, then, at these two aspects of the question more thoroughly.[48]

3.1 Auschwitz Is Mentioned Repeatedly, but Without Reference to Jewish Extermination There

Following now in chronological order are all the references to Auschwitz that appeared in the PFR up to May of 1945:

a. Article "The Concentration Camp at Oswiecim" (no. 21, 1 June 1941, pp. 6-7).

The article points out that the telegrams that arrived from Auschwitz communicating the death of prisoners "first focused the attention of all Poland on this place of torture at the end of last year" (p. 6). It also indicates that the mortality rate was very high—between 20 and 25 per cent—due to ill treatment by the guards, to the exceptionally bad conditions, to the mass executions and to illness contracted because of the cold, overwork and nervous tension. Families were authorized to receive urns with the ashes of the deceased. The work conditions and food were horrible. The prisoners did not receive shoes until the 19th of September of 1940. There was only one towel for 20 persons. The work day started at 4:30 a.m. Two hundred prisoners had been released and had returned to Warsaw, although in a lamentable state of health, inasmuch as a "released prisoner is as a rule a sick man, tuberculous and with a weak heart, and in a state of nervous collapse" (p.7).

Let us emphasize that by the end of 1940 "the attention of all Poland" was centered on Auschwitz and that by the middle of 1941 the PGE already had detailed data regarding the interior of Auschwitz, though invested with the characteristic tone of atrocity propaganda.

b. Article "Oswiecim Concentration Camp" (no. 32, 15 November 1941, pp. 5-6).

According to the author of the article, the Auschwitz camp, "which is the largest in Poland, merits a detailed description" (p. 5). Next, as in the previous article, the general situation of the camp is described. The barracks had chinks and lacked heating. The prisoners lacked their own towels, which spread infections. Moreover, many persons "suffering from venereal diseases are deliberately sent to the camp" (p. 5). Work began at 5 a.m. and was exhausting. The prisoners had to work even when they were ill. The roll calls were terrible: they were the cause of frequent deaths. A system of collective responsibility had been imposed on the prisoners, so that

punishments were frequent and were applied by means of a large repertory of tortures. The winter of 1940-1941 was distinguished by its high mortality rate, with figures running between 70 and 80 corpses per day (one day 156). The death rate went down in the spring and following summer to 30 persons a day. At the end of November of 1940 there were 8,000 Poles in Auschwitz, divided into three groups: political prisoners, criminals, and priests and Jews. Those in the last group were the worst treated "and no member of the group leaves the camp alive" (p. 6).

The most important thing to point out here is that at the end of 1941 the PFR was in a position to publish "a detailed description" of what was happening in Auschwitz.

c. Article "German Lawyers at Work" (no. 40, 15 March 1942, p. 8).

This concerns the text of a radio message from Stanislaw Stronski, Polish Minister of Information, which was broadcast by the BBC's Polish news service on 11 March 1942. Stronski points out that all "the German war criminals, from the degenerate Frank in the Polish Wawel to the degenerate overseers in Oswiecim concentration camp, are responsible for the fact that in a land in which their very existence is a crime, they are murdering a hundred for one."

d. Article "Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, pp. 2-3).

In this article it is said that besides the main camp built in the vicinity of Auschwitz, there was another nearby "in which the brutalities are so terrible that people die there quicker than they would have done in the main camp" (p. 2). The prisoners said this camp was "paradisiac" [*paradiesisch* = paradisiac/heavenly] "presumably because from it there is only one road, leading to Paradise" (p. 2).

The article here no doubt refers to the Birkenau camp, the construction of which had begun in October of 1941.[49]

The prisoners of both camps, the author of the article goes on to say, were annihilated in three ways: "by excessive labour, by torture, and by medical means" (p.2).

The prisoners of camp "paradise" in particular had to do very hard work "chiefly in building a factory for artificial rubber production near by" (p.2).

In fact, in April of 1941 the Germans had begun constructing a large chemical complex of the I.G. Farben company designed for the manufacture of synthetic rubber and gasoline. The Auschwitz prisoners were used as laborers in the construction of this complex.[50]

The Germans, the writer of the article continues, made use of a "scientific" method for killing prisoners. It consisted in the administration of injections which slowly affected the internal organs, especially the heart. Moreover, it is "universally believed that the prisoners are used for large-scale experiments in testing out new drugs which the Germans are preparing for unknown ends" (p. 2). In the context of the experiments conducted on the prisoners, the use of poison gas with a homicidal purpose is described:

> It is generally known that during the night of September 5th to 6th last year about a thousand people were driven down to the underground shelter in Oswiecim, among them seven hundred Bolshevik prisoners of war and three hundred Poles. As the shelter was too small to hold this large number, the living bodies were simply forced in, regardless of broken bones. When the shelter was full, gas was injected into it, and all the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the groans and howls coming from the shelter. Next day other prisoners had to carry out the bodies, a task which took all day. One hand-cart on which the bodies were being removed broke down under the weight (p. 2).

Something paradoxical would seem to have been produced here: the PFR knew—and published—data on the incidental extermination of a thousand persons at a time when it was presumably completely unaware of the massive and regular extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout 1942, 1943 and 1944.

On the other hand, the thesis of the extermination of a thousand Russians and Poles in the underground shelter of Auschwitz and its later evolution in the "Exterminationist" doctrine has been completely discredited.[51]

The article also points out that a section for women had recently been formed in Oswiecim (p. 2). From that may be inferred that the article contained information on Auschwitz from at least as late as March of 1942, since the first transport of women arrived at the camp on the 26 March 1942.[52]

Finally, the article records that Oswiecim had the capacity for 15,000 prisoners, "but as they die on a mass scale there is always room for new arrivals" (p. 3).

e. "*Furor germanicus*" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, p. 8).

This is the title of a talk by Stanislaw Stronski broadcast by the Polish news service of the BBC on 1 July 1942.

The *furor germanicus* is produced, according to Stronski, because the "Germans are raging," and now that they "are satiating their age-old lust for domination, they are swimming in the blood of the defenceless and luxuriating in the torments of their victims." According to Stronski, the Polish government had at that time "a very clear picture of the methods of government, i.e., the German persecutions and barbarities in Poland during the first six months of this year" and that the "latest reports from Poland confirm the sombre news which has come in great detail during the last six months, and convey the incredible dimensions of the crimes." These reports had to be truly recent, since the introductory note to this issue indicated that it corresponded "to the latest possible date" and that for the most part it "relates to the situation at the beginning of June, less than a month ago" (p. 1).

The only reference to Auschwitz in Stronski's radio message is the following: "In addition to the torture camps for men, with Oswiecim as the chief, there are now torture camps for women, such as the one near Fürstenburg (Mecklenburg) known as Ravensbrück."

So that in spite of this "very clear picture" of the situation in Poland and the recentness of the information, the PGE seemed not to know of the killing of Jews that was supposedly being carried out in Auschwitz from the beginning of 1942.[52]

f. Press conference statement of the Polish Minister of the Interior, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, on 9 July 1942 (no. 48, 15 July 1942, pp. 4-6).

In his extensive statement referring to the latest events that had occurred in Poland and in which he emphasizes that the *furor teutonicus* had reached "a murderous paroxysm" (p. 6), Mikolajczyk only mentions Auschwitz in passing: "In the concentration camp at Oswiecim itself the number of prisoners held has risen in the course of three months by 8,000" (p.5).

g. In the article "Concentration Camps" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 3), Auschwitz appears in an account of 23 concentration camps "where Poles are confined."

The article indicates that groups of prisoners are continually being sent to Oswiecim from all the prisons in Poland and specifically some hundreds of them in the months of March and April of 1942. There are notices of the demise of prisoners "who are unable to stand up to the rigours of the camp" and indication also that large groups of prisoners go to work every day on the construction of a synthetic gasoline plant in the immediate area. Lastly, precise information is given on deceased prisoners.

h. In another article, "Polish Youth in the War" (no. 56, 15 November 1942, p. 8), Auschwitz appears as one of the places where young Poles 12 to 18 years of age were interned.

i. The article "Children in Prisons and Concentration Camps" (no. 77, 1 October 1943, p. 5), reports:

> Other reports from Poland say that children under the age of 12 sent with the transports to the camp at Oswiecim are not accepted by the camp authorities, but are killed on the spot, in special gas chambers installed for the purpose. This information first came to hand in December, 1942, and has since been repeated in several reports.

From the context we infer that this concerns Polish children. This is the only reference to gas chambers in Auschwitz prior to 1945.

3.2 The Extermination of Jews Is Mentioned Repeatedly, but with No Reference to Auschwitz

Following in chronological order are the references to the extermination of Jews that appeared in the PFR up to May of 1945:

a. The article "Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, p. 3) reports: "It is also well known in Poland that last year a party of Jews was taken off to the neighbourhood of Hamburg, where they were all gassed."

So the alleged fate of *a party* of Jews in Hamburg was "well known" in Poland, whereas the *routine* slaughter of Jews that was supposedly taking place in Auschwitz was not known—or not revealed.

b. Article "Destruction of the Jewish Population" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, pp. 4-5).

According to the writer, the first manifestations of the new repressive measures against the Jews, in the form of mass shootings, took place in Nowy Sacz, Mielec, Tarnow and Warsaw. A little later the Lublin ghetto was obliterated. The German press said that the ghetto had been transferred to the locality of Majdan Tatarski, "but in fact almost the entire population was exterminated" (p. 4). A certain number of Jews from the ghetto were put into freight cars that were taken outside the city "and left on a siding for two weeks, until all inside had perished of starvation" (p. 5). However, most of the Lublin Jews were taken to Sobibor, "where they were all murdered with gas, machine-guns and even by being bayoneted" (p. 5). Detachments of Lithuanian auxiliary police (*szaulis*) had been brought to Poland to carry out these mass exterminations. It is also noted that there was confirmation of the "complete extermination" of the Jews in the areas of the East. Cities such as Molodeczno and Baranowicze had been left completely *judenfrei* (free of Jews) (p. 5). Some thousands of Jewish children were murdered in Pinsk in the fall of 1941. In turn, in March of 1942, 12,000 Jews were liquidated in Lwow, where wholesale crimes were still going on. In the cities of Southeast Poland, "Ruthenian [or Ukrainian-Ed.] organizations organize hunts after the Jews who are still hiding in numbers in the villages" (p.5).

c. On 8 July 1942 the Polish National Council, a sort of parliament-in-exile, in a resolution directed to the parliaments of the free nations, alerted them to the "newly revealed facts of the systematic destruction of the vital strength of the Polish Nation and the planned slaughter of practically the whole Jewish population" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 3).

d. The following day, 9 July, a press conference took place in which several Polish dignitaries living in exile participated (no. 48, 15 July 1942. pp. 4-8). Mikolajczyk, the Minister of the Interior, said that the "wholesale extermination of the Jews" had begun (p. 4). He said there had been a number of killings of Jews in the Belzec and Trawniki camps, where "murders are also carried out by means of poison gas" (p. 6). He also cited killings of Jews in some twenty localities, with figures of the victims, depending on the location, of from 120 to 60,000. The methods of extermination were by machine guns, hand grenades and poison gas (p. 6).

At the same press conference, Dr. Schwarzbart, a Jewish representative on the Polish National Council, mentioned killings in about thirty places, with figures of the victims, depending on the location, that varied between 300 and 50,000 (pp. 7f.).

In short, between these two notables, some fifty places in Poland were mentioned where there allegedly were slaughters of Jews. Significantly, Auschwitz—or Oswiecim in accordance with the Polish designation—does not appear in any of these accounts.

e. Number 57 of the PFR, published on 1 December 1942, is a monograph devoted to the extermination of the Jews of Poland. A large part of its contents makes reference to the deportation of the Jews of Warsaw begun in the summer of 1942. In this connection it is stated that the Jews were deported in trains in which the floors of the freight cars were covered with quicklime and chlorine (p. 3). The deportees were taken to three execution camps: Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor. "Here the trains were unloaded, the condemned were stripped naked and then killed, probably by poison gas or electrocution" (p. 3).

This issue also contains an "Extraordinary Report from the Jew-extermination Camp at Belzec" (p. 4). This report allegedly came from a German employed in the camp. It says that the place is overseen by Ukrainian guards. The deportees arrived in trains and no sooner had they arrived than they were taken out of the train, stripped, and ordered to take a bath. In reality they were taken to a big building "where there is an electrified plate, where the executions are carried out."

Once electrocuted, the victims were taken by train out of the camp enclosure and thrown into a pit 30 meters deep. This pit had been dug out by Jews, who were also assassinated once they had finished their task. In their turn, the Ukrainian camp guards "are also to be executed when the job is finished."

Surprisingly, the PFR had managed to publish a report from the interior of Belzec camp, thanks to the revelations of a German employee and in spite of security measures severe to the extreme of liquidating the Ukrainian guards periodically to avoid witnesses. Yet the PFR had not thus far published even a single indication that Jews were being murdered in Auschwitz, notwithstanding that this supposed slaughter had started at the beginning of 1942 and that there were very abundant sources of information about the camp.

But what is most important to make clear is that in an issue in the form of a monograph on the extermination of Jews in Poland and published a year after the supposed killings in Auschwitz began, the name of this concentration camp is not mentioned even a single time.

f. Issue no. 71 of the PFR, published on 1 July 1943, is also a monograph devoted to the extermination of the Jews of Poland. Its sole contents are the testimonies of two Jewish women who escaped from Poland in the fall of 1942. The first testimony is titled "Agony of the People Condemned to Death" (pp. 1-7) and narrates the vicissitudes of a Jewish woman and her family in various ghettos. The second report bears the title "What Happened in the Radom Ghetto" (pp. 7-8) and relates details of the life there.

Auschwitz is not mentioned in this issue either, and this notwithstanding that during the period in question what was happening there could not possibly have been concealed, since the Exterminationists maintain that from the summer of 1942 an annihilation on a large scale, due chiefly to the arrival of large convoys of Jews from Slovakia, France, Belgium and Holland, was being carried out there.[54]

g. Finally, in January of 1944 a bare notice gives details of a revolt in which "Jews held in the death camp at Treblinka revolted in a desperate struggle against their murderers." The revolt had taken place at the beginning of August of 1943 (no. 84, 15 January 1944, p. 4).

4. CONCLUSION

4.0 Preliminary Considerations

I believe that throughout this study two facts have remained sufficiently clear:

a. that the PGE had sufficient sources of information available to it to know in detail what was going on in Auschwitz;

b. and that the PFR, the principal propaganda organ in English of the Ministry of the Interior of the PGE, made no mention that a slaughter of Jews was taking place in Auschwitz until practically the end of the war, in May of 1945. In sum, the PFR reported extensively on this concentration camp, but never to the effect that Jews were being annihilated there; and in the same fashion, it alluded frequently to the extermination of Jews but never said that it had taken place in Auschwitz.

The truth is that the PFR, which was able to know—and no doubt did know—what was occurring at Auschwitz, *said absolutely nothing* about the extermination of Jews that had supposedly been carried out in this camp during a period of more than three years, from 1942 to May of 1945.

The next step consists in asking oneself *why* the PFR failed to disclose anything about this massacre when, according to all the evidence, it must have known of it in detail.

In my opinion, there are three considerations which can be put forward to justify, or attempt to justify, the silence of the PFR:

4.1 The PGE Knew What Was Going on in Auschwitz, but Did Not Wish to Broadcast It and Thereby Relegate the Suffering of the Poles to a Matter of Secondary Importance

This argument has been advanced by the Israeli professor David Engel. According to Engel, the Poles had a powerful political reason for not centering the attention of the world on the extermination of Jews in Poland: widespread publicity about this event would have made the sufferings of the Poles seem minor in comparison, which could earn them less attention and sympathy from the international community. And so, Engel says, information about the "final solution" was filtered through to the West by the PGE only when such

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DOCUMENTS FROM POLAND

GERMAN ATTEMPTS TO MURDER A NATION

The information on acts of savagery committed by the Germans in Poland, which we give in this number, brings the story down to the latest possible date. For much of it reldtes to the situation at the beginning of June, less than a month ago. And it confirms that the terror which the Germans unleashed in Poland three years ago, and which has raged there ever since, is still continuing in all its violence and inhumanity.

All the documents following originate from the General Gouvernement area of German-occupied Poland. Certain of them (Nos. 1, 2 and 9) are extracts from depositions made by a Pole who recently escaped from Poland. The others (3 to 8) are from reports received by the Polish Government in London direct from Poland.

We let the documents speak for themselves.

(1) AFTER HIMMLER'S VISIT

Ever since the spring the whole of the General Gouvernement has been in the grip of a terror far exceeding anything previously achieved during the German occupation. In the general view this is linked up with Himmler's visit to the General Gouvernement last spring, during which he is said to have confronted the General Gouvernement administration with a number of urgent tasks, the chief being:

1. The liquidation of the Polish secret organizations.
2. The liquidation of the ghettoes.
3. The crushing of illegal trade.
4. The supply of a million workers to Germany.

All the activities of the occupant authorities since that time have been directed towards the realization of these postulates, and frequently steps are taken which cover more than one.

After Himmler's visit there was a revival of the mass man-hunts and round-ups in the streets of the larger towns. Following are a number of the more extreme instances of these activities:

In Warsaw the entire staff and all the customers in the café *Dana* at Bracka Street, No. 18, were arrested. This arrest was preceded by the following characteristic circumstance. For some months previously the café had had a regular visitor, who was very free with his drinks, spent large sums, entered into conversation with other visitors and passed on all kinds of secret information. Thus he came to be well known and well liked by the staff, and also by the other visitors to the café. On the day of the arrests two police cars drove up to the door and at the head of the detachment was this same regular visitor, with a revolver in his hand. One of the waitresses, who recognized him, called out to him in [illegible] sie, ich verstehe nicht [illegible] understand Polish). In the confusion one of the Poles present saved himself by running through the kitchen to the back stairs, and up into the loft.

Figure 1

information could exacerbate hatred of the Nazi regime in general and at the same time not relegate the suffering of the Polish people to a lower plane. In particular, and with respect to Auschwitz, the Polish authorities considered this camp a symbol of the tribulations of the Poles themselves, and thought that it might cease to be so if information about the massive annihilation of the Jews that had occurred there should be broadcast worldwide.[55]

This argument does not seem convincing, for various reasons. In the first place, news about the extermination of Jews in Poland did not occupy a secondary position either in the PFR or in the official documents of the PGE (see Appendix 2). On the contrary, the prominence given news relating to the extermination of Jews over other news in the PFR is quite apparent, especially in the second half of 1942 (see 3.2). In this connection, various official declarations of the PGE published in the PFR place more emphasis on the atrocities committed against the Jews than on those committed against the Poles themselves. Let us look at a few examples:

a. In a press conference held on 9 June 1942, Minister of the Interior Mikolajczyk, said: "Still worse is the situation of the Jews . . . Hunger, death and sickness are exterminating the Jewish population systematically and continually" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 6).

b. At the same press conference, Dr. Schwarzbart, member of the Polish National Council, pointed out that the organized killings of Jews "surpass the most horrible examples in the history of barbarism" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 7).

c. Mikolajczyk, speaking in the name of the PGE, stated on 27 November 1942:

> The persecutions of the Jewish minority now in progress in Poland, constitute however, a separate page of Polish martyrology.
>
> Himmler's order that 1942 must be the year of liquidation of at least 50 per cent of Polish Jewry is being carried out with utter ruthlessness and a barbarity never before seen in world history (no. 57, 1 December 1942, P. 7).

d. Lastly, a resolution of the Polish National Council on 27 November 1942 calls attention to "the latest German crimes, unparalleled in the history of mankind, which

> have been carried out against the Polish nation, and particularly against the Jewish population of Poland" and accordingly condemns "the extermination of the Polish nation and other nations, an extermination the most appalling expression of which is provided by the mass-murders of the Jews in Poland and in the rest of Europe which Hitler has subjected" (no. 57, 1 December 1942, p. 8).

So if the reports about atrocities committed against the Jews had become of primary concern, at least during the second half of 1942, it is not logical that the PFR should not even mention the name of Auschwitz, where, supposedly, more atrocities against the Jews were being committed. Furthermore, by the end of the second half of 1942 the Auschwitz camp had ceased to be a kind of symbol of the suffering of the Poles, at least insofar as the PFR is concerned. In fact, from 1 July 1942 on there are scarcely any references to the existence of Auschwitz in the publication. Auschwitz during that time was not a symbol of anything. It practically disappeared from the pages of the PFR, submerged in fact by the avalanche of reports about the extermination of Jews.

If anything, the Poles had a strong political reason for putting a special emphasis on the propaganda about atrocities against the Jews. The Poles in exile, for reasons we shall immediately go into, longed for a rapprochement with world Jewry in order to obtain the support of this powerful international force.

After the Soviet aggression against Poland in September of 1939, the USSR annexed important portions of Polish territory. Since 1941, the PGE had based its strategy with respect to the USSR on the nonrecognition of the Soviet annexation of those territories by England and the United States. The Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942, however, weakened this hope. As even Engel acknowledges:

> In this situation the Poles were more in need of influential friends than ever before. In view of their belief in the crucial role played by Jewish organizations in the formation of British and American opinion, they had to continue to try to win the Jews to their side, no matter how much effort would be required to do so, and almost at any cost. Hence the latter half of 1942 was a period of intensified Polish overtures to Western and Palestinian Jewry.[56]

Consequently, if the PGE needed Jewish support at practically any price, it would not have been logical for it to suppress news reports about a slaughter of Jews in Auschwitz. On the other hand, the dissemination of this news in the context of the propaganda concerning atrocities against the Jewish population would no doubt have made it easier for the PGE to approach the Jewish international circles whose support it so eagerly sought.

Moreover, and on quite another plane, passing over Auschwitz in silence was counterproductive for the PGE's one-time idea of bombing this concentration camp. In fact, as early as January of 1941, the PGE requested of the British government that the RAF bomb Auschwitz. The proposal was rejected, but, as Engel also recognizes, there is no reason to suppose that the Poles had since that time abandoned the idea that the activities of the camp could be paralyzed by military action on the part of the West. He writes:

> In this context, a serious Polish campaign to publicize the especially egregious fate of Auschwitz's Jewish prisoners might conceivably have aroused sufficient anger within Western public opinion to force the British government to reconsider its attitude [with regard to the bombing of Auschwitz].[57]

In short, it is not true that the extermination of the Jews was of secondary importance in the propaganda policy of the PGE, since in fact the PFR did give it extensive coverage. Nor is it true that the PGE considered Auschwitz a symbol of the suffering of the Poles that it must, in its propaganda, put before news of the extermination of the Jews. We have already seen, on the contrary, that from the second half of 1942 on the PFR practically forgot about Auschwitz in order to feature precisely the news reports of the extermination of Jews. Ultimately, the PGE had the greatest possible political interest in emphasizing the propaganda about atrocities against the Jews. Accordingly, it would have been logical for the PGE to build up the role played by Auschwitz in these supposed atrocities.

In view of all the foregoing, we must conclude that this first reason alleged to justify the silence of the PFR is not valid. It would seem, therefore, that the reason for the silence of the PFR must be sought elsewhere.

4.2 The Secret Reports on the Extermination of Jews in Auschwitz Reached London Very Late, and Therefore Were Published at the End of the War

This is the explanation provided for the fact that the first news about the killings of Jews in Auschwitz appeared in the PFR on the 1st of May of 1945 (see Appendix 1).[58]

Simply put, this argument would mean that the reports on the annihilation of Jews in Auschwitz, which supposedly got under way at the beginning of 1942, did not reach London until three years later.

Examination of the available data, however, makes this notion easy to refute. Thus, for example, an article with detailed information about Auschwitz up to September of 1940 was published by the PFR in June of 1941 (no. 21, 1 June 1941, pp. 6f.). Engel has shown likewise that the first clandestine report about Auschwitz left Poland on 30 January 1941 and reached London on 18 March of the same year.[59] It has already been indicated previously (see 2.4) that communications between Poland and London flowed smoothly. They were instantaneous if the messages were transmitted by radio and generally took a few months if they were sent by courier. With regard to radio messages, there exists a radiogram sent from Poland by clandestine radio station "Wanda 5" on the 4 March 1943 which contains news about Auschwitz up to 15 December of 1942.[60] Another radiogram, sent by the clandestine radio station "Kazia" on 7 June 1943, contains news from inside Auschwitz up to April of the same year.[61] These offer conclusive evidence that reports concerning Auschwitz were known in London within the space of a few months.

Consequently this justification, to explain the silence of the PFR, can not be accepted either.

4.3 The PFR Did Not Report on the Extermination of Jews in Auschwitz Simply Because No Such Extermination Occurred

This, in the opinion of this writer, is the appropriate conclusion to be drawn from all the available facts. Let us briefly review these facts:

a. the PGE had the capability of knowing, through numerous channels of communication, what was going

on inside Auschwitz; if a physical extermination of Jews had been systematically carried out in the camp, the PGE would doubtless have known of it in a very short space of time;

b. the PGE did not, until the end of the war, publish in the PFR, its principal propaganda organ in English, any information to the effect that a great slaughter of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, and the silence of the PFR is shared by a most important official declaration of the PGE as well (see Appendix 2);

c. the PGE, and hence the PFR, had no motive for suppressing reports of atrocities committed against the Jews; on the contrary, this aspect constituted one of the central points of its propaganda.

The only explanation that would seem to fit, then, to justify the silence of the PFR is that a slaughter of Jews never took place in Auschwitz, at least none significant enough to be publicized.

This is the conclusion derived from the rigorous application of the historians' argument *ex silentio*. According to this, a given historical assumption is considered not to have happened when it is not cited by contemporaries, always supposing these two circumstances to be present:

a. the contemporary authors could know and had to know the fact in question; and

b. they ought to have reported it.[62]

Thus, for example, it is admitted that the Franks did not hold regular assemblies, because the principal chronicler of the period, Gregory of Tours, did not mention them and doubtless would have if they had existed.[63]

These two necessary conditions can be applied perfectly to our case:

a. the PFR could know and had to know that the Jews were being annihilated on a massive scale; and

b. it ought to have reported it, since the question of the extermination of the Jews constituted one of the central points of its propaganda.

And if it did not report it, it was because in all probability a massive extermination of Jews never took place. This, therefore, is the only satisfactory explanation for the silence of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*.

Appendix 1.

Issue 115 (1 May 1945) of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*

In this issue, for the first time, information was published concerning the extermination of Jews in Auschwitz. This revelation occurred more than three months after the arrival in Auschwitz of the Soviet troops, and at a time when the war was practically over (it ended officially in Europe on the 8th of May). At that time a tremendous worldwide propaganda campaign was being waged on the atrocities committed in the German concentration camps already occupied by the Allies (principally Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald); a few months earlier, in November of 1944, the War Refugee Board, an official U.S. organization charged with rescuing and assisting the victims of the war, had published three testimonies in which were described massive killings of Jews that had taken place in Auschwitz.[64]

Issue number 115 of the PFR, bearing the generic title "Polish Women in German Concentration Camps," is devoted exclusively to Auschwitz. It contains two testimonies of women prisoners, an account of women "gassed" and a brief report on medical experiments.

1. First testimony: "An Eye-Witness's Account of the Women's Camp at Oswiecim-Brzezinka (Birkenau). Autumn, 1943, to Spring, 1944" (pp. 1-6).

The introductory note indicates without embellishment that this is the testimony of a woman, an eyewitness, who gives an account of things that happened in the second half of 1943 and the beginning of 1944. It indicates also that the document reached London "by devious routes" (p. 1).

A brief examination of the text in question permits the conclusion that it is without value as a historical source and is nothing but a propaganda production.

In the first place, no details whatsoever are provided as to its provenance. Who wrote it, when and where it was written, or through what agency it reached London is not revealed. If the war was practically at an end, what danger could the author be supposed to incur by revealing her name and personal details? Nor is there any indication as to whether this person was liberated from Auschwitz, whether she escaped, or whether she sent her report clandestinely while still a prisoner. The omission of these details as to the origin of the

document, without evident reason, makes it more than suspect. Furthermore, the writer also fails to mention any dates, such as the date of her arrival at the camp; or what duties she discharged while at the camp.

With regard to her description of life in the camp, the witness relates happenings that are very hard to believe. For example, she says she was in the "Sauna" just at the time a special selection of women prisoners for the camp brothel took place, at which she also watched an interpretation of pornographic songs by a prisoner who was a former cabaret singer, and the execution of a Cossack dance by a Gypsy. Both women were completely naked (p. 4). She also managed to be present at an inspection in the hospital, during which a German doctor, who was stressing the importance of maintaining good hygienic conditions, carefully examined the walls for dust or cobwebs while appearing to be indifferent to the piles of corpses and the lack of medicines and water (p.4).

The witness also states that she saw the crematory furnaces, which never ceased operation, and from the chimneys of which continuously poured great clouds of smoke, and flames of up to 10 meters high (p. 5). The incessant activity of the crematories was due to the annihilation of the Jews. Trains arrived every day from all over Europe. Ten percent of the passengers were interned in the camp; the rest went straight to the gas chamber (which is always referred to in the singular). She also claims to have seen the actual extermination in the gas chamber of 4,000 Jewish children from the ghetto of Terezin (Theresienstadt). In fact, according to the witness, the gas did not kill but only stunned them, since it was expensive, and the Germans wished to be sparing with it. Consequently the victims woke up in the trucks transporting them from the gas chamber to the crematory and were flung into the fire alive (pp. 5f.).

The author of this testimony, no doubt conscious of the enormities she is relating, repeats several times that her information is strictly true, that she has seen it all personally. and that, besides, this is only a small part of the truth (pp. 2 and 6).

In short, the first document published by the PFR on the extermination of the Jews of Auschwitz is historically unacceptable.

2. Second testimony: "Report Made by a Girl Fifteen Years Old" (pp. 6-7).

REPORT MADE BY A GIRL FIFTEEN YEARS OLD

The concentration camp for women at Oswięcim is really at Brzezinka (Birkenau) not far from Oswięcim, but the address for both men and women is the same: "Auschwitz (i.e., Oswięcim), Konzentrationslager." The men's and women's camps at Brzezinka are newer, and are much worse than the men's camp at Oswięcim, because of the lack of organization.

The women's camp occupied a large area, and consists of thirty blocks (or barracks) both brick and timber. The locality is unhealthy, swampy. The camp is surrounded by wire charged with high-tension electric current. The men's camps have two rows of this type of fencing. Guards' huts are placed at intervals along the wire. The guards are equipped with both ordinary and hand machine-guns. Similar huts are scattered quite thickly about the area outside for a distance of several kilometres from the camp. The blocks inside the camp consist of barracks for living accommodation, hospitals, warehouses for storing the prisoners' belongings, baths, tailors' shop and kitchen.

Of the living barracks one is set aside as a punitive block (No. 25) and one for better conditions (No. 12). This last barrack is occupied by office workers (political officials), workers in the warehouses and members of the camp band. A normal block contains from 800 to 1,000 and more women. Such a block is a very long barrack; in it are three rows (lengthways) of three-tiered bunks, or rather, compartments. On each compartment sleep from five to eight people. Each compartment is three times as broad as a prison bed. The bedding consists of straw palliasses and two blankets for three persons. It depends on one's ingenuity whether one gets more blankets. Most of the prisoners sleep in their clothes. All they possess (e.g., packets of food, and small personal belongings) is stored under the palliasse, in a hole of the roof, etc. The barrack has many windows in the walls and the roof. In the winter there are two iron stoves for the entire barrack. Buckets for the usual purposes stand in the yard outside the barrack. One is allowed to go out to them at night. In block No. 12 each person has her own bed, sheet, blankets, and the block is clean. Accommodation is better than usual in the punitive block, for there is more room, but the block is completely isolated from all the others and one cannot have any contact with others, which is quite easy in the case of prisoners in the other blocks. Inhabitants of block No. 12 do not go outside the camp to work, but do particularly hard work inside, such as digging trenches, carrying soil, etc., without regard to the weather.

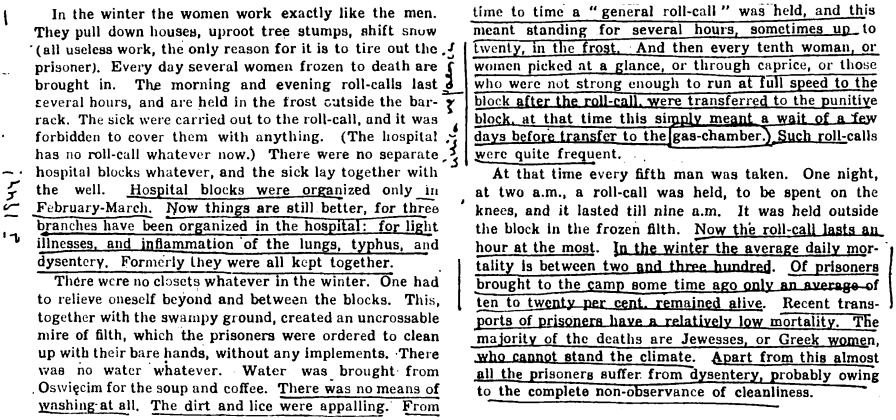
A commandant is in charge of the camp, with German wardresses in uniform under him. They guard the camp area inside and take the roll-calls. The guards' huts are serviced by men (many of them Ukralnians). In addition there are the "posts," consisting of youngsters in Gestapo uniform, who supervise work in the fields. (These are not to be feared.) There are also men in charge of various sectors, known as commands, who are specialists on the work which they supervise. In addition to these German authorities there are the minor authorities drawn from the women prisoners themselves. One is the senior in the camp, and under her are the block supervisors, known as "blocks," who are in general authority over the particular barrack, with the added privilege of being allowed to beat their charges, which they are fond of doing. Under these are the "stubes," who are responsible for sections of the block. The "block" has her own room attached to the barrack, the "stubes" sleep with the other prisoners. There are also women prisoners who supervise during labour, these usually being German criminals. The "stubes" wake up the prisoners at about four a.m., at five a.m. there is coffee, and at 5.30 the prisoners go outside the block for roll-call, which is at six a.m. After it there is the march to work. Dinner is taken at the place of work from twelve to two o'clock. Work ends at five o'clock, there is the march back to camp, and at six o'clock the roll-call and supper. After the supper the prisoners are left to themselves until nine p.m., after which there must be silence, and the lights in the barracks are turned off. The entire area of the camp is brilliantly lit up all night.

Most of the prisoners work in the open. The weaker go to collect medical herbs, work in the tailors' shop and twist ropes. Most of them are older women. The doctor decides whether a prisoner is to be assigned lighter work. The food each day is: morning, only coffee; dinner, tinned soup, or with margarine; supper, coffee, two hundred grammes of bread with jam or margarine, or something similar. Twice a week each prisoner gets half a loaf of bread additional. Food parcels can be received even every day. They arrive unbroken. Bread and food constitute the currency with which one can buy anything, from warm clothing to the regards of the "block" or the hospital nurse. (It is a fundamental condition of survival that the prisoner must have a large quantity of food sent to the camp.) The parcels may contain soap, tooth-powder, tooth-brushes, toilet paper, but no clothing. Prisoners may write once a month, and receive letters several times a month.

Prisoners are sent to the hospital on developing a temperature of 38 degrees C., but the prisoners are afraid of the hospital owing to the ease with which infectious diseases can be picked up there. A separate barrack for infectious diseases has now been established. There are an average of two thousand sick in a camp of twelve thousand. Half of them are infectious, with typhus, typhoid, and dysentery. Almost all who have been any time in the camp have had all these. Formerly the daily mortality was 200, but now it averages fifteen to fifty. The hospital is overcrowded, with three patients on each bed. A German doctor is in charge, but under him are some thirty women doctors, prisoners of various nationalities. Owing to the insanitary and unhygienic conditions the camp is dirty and lousy. There is nowhere to wash and nothing to wash with. There is a bath and change of clothes once a month. A new washing place has now been made, and maybe things are better.

When a transport of prisoners arrives it goes to the transit barracks. There political women officials (themselves prisoners) take down personal details and tattoo numbers on the arms (it is not very painful), then others shave all heads (this is done only once, and afterwards one may grow one's hair). They collect all the clothing, see the prisoners through the baths and issue camp clothing: a shirt, drawers, an overall, an apron, kerchief, socks or stockings, boots and foot-wraps. One can keep one's own house-slippers, but all others are taken. The clothing issue in the winter is the same, plus a ragged cowl and a cotton kerchief. The new arrivals when dressed are placed in a quarantine block, whence, however, they go out to normal work the next day. After three weeks they are transferred to the permanent blocks.

The Jewesses have a special mark on their arms. The German women are not tattooed or shaved. The prisoners have triangular badges on their arms: red to indicate political prisoners, green for criminal prisoners, black for prostitutes. Jewesses have badges sewn on their chest. All the types of work have special clothing.



In the winter the women work exactly like the men. They pull down houses, uproot tree stumps, shift snow (all useless work, the only reason for it is to tire out the prisoner). Every day several women frozen to death are brought in. The morning and evening roll-calls last several hours, and are held in the frost outside the barrack. The sick were carried out to the roll-call, and it was forbidden to cover them with anything. (The hospital has no roll-call whatever now.) There were no separate hospital blocks whatever, and the sick lay together with the well. Hospital blocks were organized only in February-March. Now things are still better, for three branches have been organized in the hospital: for light illnesses, and inflammation of the lungs, typhus, and dysentery. Formerly they were all kept together.

There were no closets whatever in the winter. One had to relieve oneself beyond and between the blocks. This, together with the swampy ground, created an uncrossable mire of filth, which the prisoners were ordered to clean up with their bare hands, without any implements. There was no water whatever. Water was brought from Oswięcim for the soup and coffee. There was no means of washing at all. The dirt and lice were appalling. From time to time a "general roll-call" was held, and this meant standing for several hours, sometimes up to twenty, in the frost. And then every tenth woman, or women picked at a glance, or through caprice, or those who were not strong enough to run at full speed to the block after the roll-call, were transferred to the punitive block, at that time this simply meant a wait of a few days before transfer to the gas-chamber.) Such roll-calls were quite frequent.

At that time every fifth man was taken. One night, at two a.m., a roll-call was held, to be spent on the knees, and it lasted till nine a.m. It was held outside the block in the frozen filth. Now the roll-call lasts an hour at the most. In the winter the average daily mortality is between two and three hundred. Of prisoners brought to the camp some time ago only an average of ten to twenty per cent. remained alive. Recent transports of prisoners have a relatively low mortality. The majority of the deaths are Jewesses, or Greek women, who cannot stand the climate. Apart from this almost all the prisoners suffer from dysentery, probably owing to the complete non-observance of cleanliness.

Figure 2

The introductory note says that this is the testimony of a Polish girl regarding her stay in the Birkenau women's camp during the second half of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 (p. 1). Just as in the previous case, the facts as to the origin of the document are not stated. Judging from the language and the style in which it is written, it does not seem to be the work of a fifteen-year-old girl.

With regard to the contents, the most important thing to note is that it contains not the slightest reference to the extermination of Jews. In only one passage is allusion made to the "gas chamber," in which those selected at roll call because of their poor physical condition are going to end up. The rest of the document is surprisingly objective, given the circumstances and the time in which it was published. Because of its interest we reproduce it below. [pages from *Polish Fortnightly Review* numbered 53a and 53b]

3. Other information (p. 8).

Issue 115 also contains an account of women annihilated with poison gas at Birkenau in 1943, in which information is given month by month from February of 1943 to December of 1944. The victims are sorted into three groups: Poles, Jews and others. According to this information, the number of Polish and "other" women is much larger than that of the Jewish women.

Lastly, there is a brief report about medical experiments performed on women in block number 10 of Auschwitz.

Appendix 2.

An Official Document of the Polish Government-in- Exile: "The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland" (Archives of the SPP, 2318)

This concerns an official document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PGE published in London in December of 1942. It contains various official texts and declarations of the PGE put out between 27 November and 17 December of 1942.

The document claims to be bringing together the "most recent reports" received from Poland "during recent weeks" on the "new methods of mass slaughter applied during the last few months" (pp. 4-5).

The information about the extermination of Jews contained in this document is represented as complete. At the outset, the document establishes a chronological account of the principal milestones in the extermination policy of the Germans. Thus, it notes that the first steps leading to the extermination phase were taken as early as October of 1940, when the Warsaw ghetto was established (p. 5). Later, beginning with the German-Soviet war, great massacres of Jews were carried out, especially in the eastern provinces. Around the middle of July of 1942, the word was given to commence the process of liquidation, "the horror of which surpasses anything known in the annals of history" (p. 6). Finally, at the end of July of 1942, the deportation of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto to the extermination camps began (pp. 8-9).

The document enumerates the principal places where the killings were being carried out and describes the extermination methods. It says that the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto were directed towards the extermination camps of "Tremblinka [*sic*], Belzec and Sobibor," employing freight cars whose floors were covered with quicklime and chlorine. Upon arrival at the camp the survivors from the freight cars were murdered by various means, "including poison gas and electrocution," after which they were buried (pp. 8-9). In Chelm (Kulmhof) the Germans were also using poison gases (p. 6). In other places such as Wilno, Lwow, Rowne, Kowel, Tarnopol, Stanislawow, Stryj and Drohobycz, the method was shooting (p. 6).

The most important thing to note is that this official document, which claims to have exhaustive and very recent information on the extermination of Jews in Poland, does not once mention Auschwitz. It must be taken into account, moreover, that this text was published in December 1942, practically a year after the supposed extermination of Jews in Auschwitz had been initiated and six months after the "killings" took on a systematic character with the arrival of large convoys of Jews from France, Slovakia, Belgium and Holland.

The document further contains a report of great interest relative to the deportation to Poland of Jews of other countries. Specifically, it speaks of "the many thousands of Jews whom the German authorities have deported to Poland from Western and Central European countries and from the German Reich itself" (p. 4). These Jews brought from abroad had been concentrated in ghettos (p. 15). According to the thesis generally accepted today, a good part of these Jews were to end up at Auschwitz. For example, it is stated that up to 1 December 1942, 45 convoys of Jews arrived at this concentration camp from France, 17 from Belgium, 27 from Holland and 19 from Slovakia.[65] Specifically, all the Jews of France and Belgium who were deported to Poland in 1942 supposedly ended their journey in Auschwitz.[66] So that, estimating half a thousand persons per convoy, around 100,000 Jews from these countries would have arrived at Auschwitz in 1942. Of this number, the partisans of the Exterminationist thesis affirm, only a small part were considered fit for work and interned in the camp, and the rest sent without further ado to the gas chambers.

But if the PGE knew that the Jews of Western countries were being deported to Poland, they would doubtless have to know that a good part of them were going to end up at Auschwitz. The silence of the PGE is therefore very significant and suggests a very different hypothesis: that many of the Jews deported to Poland from France, Belgium, Holland and Slovakia during 1942 never reached Auschwitz. The fact that in the document we are discussing it is indicated that these Jews were concentrated in ghettos reinforces this hypothesis.

Notes

1. Engel, D, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, pp. 192, 172.
2. Duraczynski, E., *Polish Government in Exile*, pp. 1177-1178.
3. Garlinski, J., *Poland, SOE and the Allies*, pp. 21-29, 90.
4. Duraczynski, E., *Delagatura*, pp. 356f.
5. Duraczynski, E., *Armia Krajowa*, pp. 88f.
6. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, pp. 145-147, 150.
7. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, pp. 158.
8. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 97f.
9. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 123.
10. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 110.
11. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, p. 110.
12. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 175.
13. Poles of German origin who had chosen to hold German nationality after 1939.
14. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 205.
15. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, p. 151.
16. No. 84, 15 January 1944, p. 5.
17. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 253.
18. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 46, 153.
19. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 22f.
20. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 24.
21. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 43
22. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 43-45.
23. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 155ff.
24. Langbein, H., *Hommes et femmes à Auschwitz*, p. 252.
25. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 126.
26. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 100f.
27. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 206-208.
28. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 46.
29. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 102, 143.
30. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 230.
31. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 54f, 112.
32. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, p. 169.
33. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 167-173.
34. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 101-103.
35. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 150.
36. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 103, 107.
37. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 103f.
38. Karski, J., *Story of a Secret State*, p. 217.
39. Karski, J., *Story of a Secret State*, p. 253.
40. Nowak, J., *Courier from Warsaw*, pp. 164f.

41. Nowak, J., *Courier from Warsaw*, pp. 166, 172-174.
42. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 150.
43. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, pp. 122f.
44. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 151.
45. Garlinski, J., *Poland, SOE and the Allies*, pp. 150-154.
46. Duraczynski, E., *Armia Krajowa*, p. 89.
47. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 89.
48. All of the quotations which follow, unless otherwise indicated, are from the PFR, with the issue, date and corresponding page numbers given in parentheses following each quotation.
49. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, p. 159.
50. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, p. 86.
51. See in this respect the work of Mattogno, C., *The First Gassing at Auschwitz.*
52. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, p. 189.
53. Rudolf Höss, the first commandant of Auschwitz, notes in his memoirs that the extermination of Jews in this camp had begun "probably" in September of 1941 or in January of 1942 (Höss, R., *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, pp. 159f.
54. Buszko, J., *Auschwitz*, pp. 114-115.
55. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, pp. 177, 201-203.
56. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 147.
57. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 209.
58. Or in the fall of 1944, should the issues of that period—which I have not been able to find—have information on the matter.
59. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 305.
60. The text of the English translation of this message, made in London, is dated 31 March 1943. (Archives of the SPP, 3.16).
61. The text of the English translation of this message, made in London, is dated 10 June 1943. (Archives of the SPP, 3.16).
62. Garcia Villadas, Z., *Metodología y crítica históricas*, p. 319.
63. Langlois, Ch.V. and Seignobos, Ch., *Introducción a los estudios históricos*, p. 190.
64. These testimonies are known as the "Protocols of Auschwitz." A critical study of them may be seen in my work, *Los 'Protocolos de Auschwitz': ¿una fuente histórica?* (Alicante: García Hispán, 1990).
65. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, pp. 189-347.
66. Klarsfeld, S., *Le Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France*, p. 13 by my numbering. Klarsfeld, S. and Steinberg, M., *Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de Belgigue*, p. 22 by my numbering.
67. Duraczynski, E., *Polish Government-in-Exile*, pp. 1177-1178.

Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism

DOUG COLLINS

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When I accepted the invitation to make this address I made it clear that I am not an expert on what is called "the Holocaust," and would not be able to tell you anything about this subject that you don't already know.

But I may be able to bring the perspective of one who was a prisoner in Germany during the darkest year of the war—the year after Dunkirk. My views were shaped by my experiences, and by this I mean not just combat experiences and its effects, but also the values that were at stake—including freedom of speech—values that are not always respected by pressure groups that should know better.

Some people write convincingly about things of which they know nothing at first hand. They are able to do this even when they make it all up. I should know because I've been a journalist for a long time and have seen all the tricks of the trade. Copying one another's stories and going with the tide has, unfortunately, become the custom in today's journalism, which is why it's not easy to get any fair play for dissident views of current issues.

In forming an accurate perspective about an issue, there's nothing like being on the scene. And I was on the scene when Hitler was making his first moves toward mastery of Europe. Later I gained perspective of another and more restricted kind from behind the barbed wire of German prisoner of war camp, Stalag VIIIB.

My Views on Hitler

In order for you to understand my perspective, I must tell you right up front what I think of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi

period. To put it mildly, I do not believe that Hitler was some kind of misunderstood Boy Scout whose reasonable aims were thwarted by a sinister Winston Churchill or a duplicitous Franklin D. Roosevelt. And, simple soul that I am, I have always thought that the side that is responsible for starting a war is the side whose tanks advance thirty miles the first day, and which occupies countries that would prefer not to be occupied.

Hitler was also a dictator who had no compunction about knocking off dozens of his close comrades, let alone others. Anyone who doubts this has only to consider the events of June 30, 1934, the "Night of the Long Knives," when Hitler ordered the deaths of stormtrooper chief Ernst Röhm and many others.

Nor do I accept the view that Hitler had a soft spot for the British and the British Empire. In 1945, while I was with an Intelligence Section of SHAEF [Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force], I read the original German document of the plan for Operation Sea Lion—the German invasion of Britain—as well as the German directives for the occupation of Britain. These stipulated that anyone over the age of twelve who insulted a member of the German occupation forces was to be subject to the death penalty, and all males between the ages of 17 and 45 who were not working in war-related industries in the United Kingdom could be sent to Germany and Poland to work as forced labor—in preparation for the German attack against the USSR.

Prisoner of War

As a prisoner of war in Stalag VIIIB we knew nothing of all that, of course. But we did know that we weren't in a Club Med vacation resort, and that our prospects for the future were not favorable. In spite of that, our morale was pretty good. In our imperial ignorance and possibly arrogance, it simply never to occurred to us that we could lose the war. The unhappy thought did sometimes pop into my head, of course, that we might be prisoners for many years, and that it could be quite a while before we returned to the pleasant world of fish and chips and summer holidays on the beaches. When such dreary thoughts came to mind, I would engage in daydreams of dining out in London.

When I was a prisoner in the German stalags in 1940 and 1941, the huts were stuffed with smelly, lice-ridden torsos, and rations were practically on the starvation level. One loaf of bread per day for five men, plus very watery soup. Rumor had it that conditions in some of the work camps were heavenly, and that the soup served there was so thick you could stand your spoon up in it. Whatever truth there many have been to such stories, during my year as a prisoner in Germany I never came across anyone who had personally experienced such conditions. In our camps, at any rate, nobody waxed fat. I myself developed a severe case of jaundice. There's no doubt that the death rate would have been quite high if it had not been for the Red Cross parcels we received.

I mention all this because some people seem to believe that conditions in the concentration camps were really not so bad. Well, I was never in a concentration camp, although during one of my escape attempts, on a proverbial dark and stormy night, I did nearly walk into a camp of the Auschwitz complex by mistake, which shows how clever I was. It must have been the neighboring camp of Birkenau, as I determined last year during a visit to Poland on the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war.

My point here is that there can be no doubt that the death rate in the concentration camps was high. I was with the British troops when they liberated the Bergen-Belsen camp in 1945, and what I saw there is not something I ever want to see again. Nor do I accept that the death rate there was due almost entirely to unavoidable disease. There is, I think, no point in denying the obvious, and for me the obvious is that if the prisoner of war camps weren't all that wonderful, the concentration camps would certainly have been worse.

On the more positive side, I can confirm that—with regard to British and later American prisoners—the Germans in most respects did honor the terms of the international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war. They did not confiscate the food parcels, for instance, even though they often contained items that were scarce in wartime Germany, such as tea, coffee, chocolate, and so on.

But there were some awful exceptions. It is the duty of a prisoner of war to try to escape, and for my failures I spent a lot of time in solitary confinement in cells. No complaints about that—win some, lose some, as they say. But there was

also the infamous case at Stalag Luft III, where 53 British and Commonwealth air force officers were murdered after being recaptured.

Life for prisoners of war was full of contrasts. During that visit to Poland last year, I met a former British enlisted man who had struck a German guard. Legally, he could have been shot. Instead, he was sentenced to 15 years hard labor, and went home when the war ended. And even though life in the stalags was grim in the year after Dunkirk, conditions improved somewhat as time went on. It became possible to take correspondence courses. Some prisoners got an education that way. There were theatrical productions. Conditions in some working camps were better than others, especially after Red Cross parcels began to arrive regularly and it became possible to trade with the locals. I have even heard of a few cases where prisoners employed on farms managed to get some female sleeping company. I never had such luck myself. Perhaps I should have stayed longer.

Conditions were incomparably tougher for the Soviet prisoners of war in German hands, a reflection of the brutality of the war in the East. It is generally estimated that two million Soviet servicemen died in German prison camps. Almost as many Germans died in Soviet hands: 1,750,000, according to West German figures. In his book *Die Verlassene Armee* (The Forsaken Army), author Heinrich Gerlach reports that of the 91,000 Germans taken prisoner at Stalingrad in early 1943, fewer than 5,000 were still alive at the end of the war in May 1945. And many of these never returned home.

It is very likely that the death tolls of both German and Soviet prisoners of war would have been much lower if the USSR had been a signatory to the international agreement on the treatment of such prisoners. We also know that there were many German atrocities in the Soviet Union, and many Soviet atrocities in eastern Germany, not to mention the expulsion at the end of the war of some ten million German civilians from lands that had been German for centuries.

In 1947, when I was an Intelligence Officer with the British Control Commission in Germany, I was once sent to the border of the British and Soviet occupation zones to screen prisoners returning from the USSR to get whatever information they might offer on conditions there. I had also been told to have any former Waffen SS men of officer rank

arrested and sent to camps in our zone. Instead, I sent them all home. Instructions or no instructions, I was not about to arrest walking skeletons, which is what they were.

As I've mentioned, Russians in Germany were also badly treated. During my visit to Poland last year, I returned to the site of Stalag VIIIB in what had been German Upper Silesia but is now part of Poland. We saw a large memorial to the 40,000 Soviet prisoners of war who died there—or one in five of the 200,000 who were sent there. They had no shelter of any kind and simply lived in holes in the ground, even during the winter. British prisoners in the adjacent Stalag proper witnessed this tragic business. I did not witness anything of that myself, because I was long gone by the time the Soviet POWs arrived. But I've spoken to many former British prisoners who did, and they were not lying.

As I hope this little account helps to show, I am not the sort of man who can easily be persuaded that black is white. Flights of fancy I leave to others. I like what Clemenceau, the French premier known as the Old Tiger, said during the First World War. "When this war is over," he declared, "many reasons will be given as to why it started. But no one will ever be able to say that it was because the Belgians invaded Germany." Not a bad way of putting it, in my opinion. At the same time, I want to make it clear that I hold no grudges. On the contrary, I have contempt for those who act as if the war ended last week. There are grandfathers in Germany today who were five-year-olds when the last shot was fired in 1945. Why should they be made to feel guilty? One might as well hold me responsible for the excesses of Lord Kitchener during the South African War of 90 years ago.

Free Speech in Canada

Let me now jump ahead to take a look at recent efforts in Canada to stifle free discussion on historically and racially touchy subjects—a matter that is closely connected with the Second World War. I won't deal here with the situation in the United States, which you know more about than I do. But up in The True North Strong and Free—which is how our national anthem describes Canada, anyway—freedom of speech is under severe attack.

It started in the mid-1960s when a few pimply-faced youths were running around Toronto painting swastikas and various

graffiti on walls. By 1971, as a direct result of Jewish group pressure, the so-called "hate laws" were passed. These make it illegal to say nasty things about any identifiable group—unless, as it turned out, one said nasty things about the Germans or any other similarly "safe" target.

As it happened, I was in Ottawa at the time reporting on the Parliament. I witnessed some of the debate on the legislation, which was highly contentious. One member of parliament called it a legal monstrosity, which it was and still is. The bill was passed by a vote of just 89 to 45. In other words, it was passed by a minority of MP's, 127 of them having found pressing business elsewhere that day. That was when Canada was starting to become Wimpland. To paraphrase a former Canadian prime minister on the subject of wartime conscription, "Free speech if necessary, but not necessarily free speech."

The dangers inherent in the hate laws were clear. And before long, charges were laid against a bunch of loonies who had been agitating against an American Shriners' convention in Toronto. Those charges were dropped, but were nevertheless a sign of things to come. Today, anyone who takes on any minority group does so at his peril. For even if it's not a matter of legal action, it will be a matter of public castigation.

Many of you know about the case of James Keegstra, the Alberta teacher who has been before the courts for years because he told his students that the Holocaust was a hoax. Keegstra lost his job, became the subject of national vilification, was hauled into court, and was convicted and sentenced. On appeal, the conviction was overturned. The provincial attorney general should have then dropped the matter. Instead, responding to Jewish pressure, he sent the case to the Supreme Court of Canada, which is still considering it. [It was later decided to subject Keegstra to yet another trial on the same charges.]

Another Canadian teacher, Malcolm Ross, has been in a similar situation. His case is even worse than Keegstra's because he has never mentioned the Holocaust or the Jews in his New Brunswick classroom. Ross has merely written books about these subjects. But as a result, he has been hounded mercilessly, and has had to appear repeatedly before "human rights commissions"—I call them human wrongs

commissions—and before the courts. He reminds me very much of Sherman McCoy, the anti-hero of Tom Wolfe's novel *Bonfire of the Vanities*, who was forced to become a life-long litigant. And this in a country—Canada—that with marvelous hypocrisy boasts of its great tradition of freedom. Sadly, there are now as many loopholes in that tradition as there are in the tax laws. In the broadcasting world, for instance, truth is no defence if the Canadian Radio, Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) decides that a broadcaster is using the truth for reprehensible purposes. Although Canada's new Constitution does guarantee freedom of speech, astoundingly it makes an exception, as it says, whenever a democratic society might reasonably decide otherwise. I call it the Hypocritic Oath, for greater two-facedness hath no man. The Constitution was written that way, naturally, to please the minorities and their pressure groups which now have so much influence in Canada, not the least of which is the Canadian Jewish Congress and its allied organizations. All this is reminiscent of the so-called "affirmative action" laws, those acts of hypocrisy and discrimination with which you are well acquainted here in the United States, and which we now also have in Canada.

The biggest scandal of its kind in The True North has been the Zündel case, which has been dragging on for six years. As most of you know, Ernst Zündel was charged with "spreading false news likely to do harm to a public interest"—itself a truly Orwellian concept—because he had reprinted a booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?* Initially, his persecutors and prosecutors wanted him charged under the "hate laws." But after it was determined that he would probably win such a case, the obscure "false news" statute was pressed into service.

It was as a journalist that I became interested in the Zündel affair. I had never heard of Zündel before he was charged. But I wanted to know why anyone in a democratic society could possibly be charged with "spreading false news." Doesn't everybody spread false news? Don't Santa Claus and the weatherman spread false news? Indeed, does not every politician in the country spread false news? Doesn't every newspaper spread false news? Hadn't I, in reporting what the politicians had to say, spread false news? Mindful of all this, when Zündel's attorney, Doug Christie, asked me to appear as a witness for the defense in the first Zündel trial (of 1985), I readily agreed.

The trial was a revelation. The judge was as biased as they come. So biased, in fact, that when the case went to appeal it was thrown out on God only knows how many grounds. As I wrote at the time, the judge himself had spread false news by misdirecting the jury. The day I appeared as a witness, and for no reason at all that I could detect, he took to shouting at Christie. I was reminded of Charles Laughton's Captain Bligh bawling out Clark Gable's Fletcher Christian, "Do you know what you are doing, Mr. Christian!"

The Media Dodge Responsibility

But that wasn't the worst of it. The biggest surprise was the indifference of the media. In light of the implications of the Zündel case for Canadian society, every major newspaper, magazine and television and radio station in the country should have been knocking on the door of that courthouse demanding to be heard. "False news?!," they should have been yelling and writing, "What is this nonsense?" Instead, they kept quiet.

It has been said, you know, that the journalists of Germany were silent when Hitler came to power. Well, I can tell you that they could hardly have been more silent than the journalists of Canada were in the Zündel case. When the trial was over, a couple of "Oh dear me" editorials appeared in the Toronto press. And that was it. One can be very sure of one thing, however: If any attorney general in the country had tried to put some Marxist professor on trial for saying that Stalin's crimes were fiction—which would certainly be false news—the uproar in the Canadian media would have been audible in Timbuktoo. In such a case, the politicians would have scrambled to defend freedom. But Canadian politicians are as expert as any in the noble art of the double standard. Uriah Heep had nothing on them.

When the verdict in the first Zündel trial was set aside on appeal, the case should have been dropped, if only out of consideration for the taxpayer. The trials, each lasting months, cost the taxpayers millions of dollars. Also, by this time a different political party had taken power—the misnamed Liberal Party—and it would have been easy and right for the new attorney general to have said that all sides had their day in court, and that was an end to it. But against all logic, apart from the logic of political lickspittling, a new trial was ordered.

There then followed more education for the innocent, including me. The biggest lesson was the blatant way in which the Canadian Jewish Congress and its allied groups managed to lean on the media. There was a time, you know, when anyone going to a Canadian newspaper or broadcasting office with a request that an important trial—or indeed any trial—should be played down or ignored would have been shown the door in short order. But from the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, to the Canadian television networks, to lesser outlets, almost total silence reigned in print and on the air. The single exception was the *Toronto Star*, the largest-circulation newspaper in the country. But even this paper played things safe. Instead of giving this remarkable trial the coverage it deserved, the *Star* decided to run only brief daily reports on page two, always under short and very innocuous headlines. It was the first time in the paper's history that such a thing had been done. Its laughable excuse was that this coverage made it easier for readers to find the tepid, page-two articles about the trial in the paper. Well, this silly argument could have served just as well for running the articles on the same page every day among the classified ads.

The reason why Jewish groups didn't want any publicity is no mystery. Zündel knew how to work the media, and these groups did not want a repeat performance of the first trial. On that occasion, the entire country witnessed his stunts—such as walking to the courthouse carrying a big wooden cross on his shoulder. Whether such antics did him any good with the public I don't know, but they certainly got him into the news. Even worse, from the Jewish point of view, was that the media had reported on the points made by the defense. Headlines such as "Nazi gas chambers unproven, court told" and "Camp gas chambers fake, Holocaust revisionist says" appeared in newspapers across the country. One can't blame Jewish groups for disliking such coverage, of course. Jews are certainly not alone in wanting things played their way. But one can find fault with the spinelessness of Canada's Fourth Estate, which is brave enough when it comes to stories of smelly tuna fish being put into cans. But there's more than one kind of fish that stinks, and in the case of the second (1988) Zündel trial, the role of the Canadian media was like that of the piano player in the whorehouse, if I may mix my metaphors.

There was a sequel to all this that involved me. After I wrote a column about how the pressure groups had been able to draw a blanket over the trial, a Jewish professor in Vancouver complained to the British Columbia Press Council. I don't think you have press councils here in the United States, and you're not missing much. In Canada these are voluntary bodies whose members are the newspapers themselves. Each council—which is mostly made up of laymen—hears complaints made by the public. Councils cannot fine journalists or send them to jail, although one never knows what the future may hold. The idea is that by their judgments they should exert what is called "moral pressure."

Sometimes they get things right and sometimes they don't. On an earlier occasion, another Jewish professor brought me before the press council when I reviewed Arthur Butz's book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* I might not have reviewed it—indeed, I might never have even heard of it—except that my interest had been aroused because the book had been placed on the list of forbidden imports—again as a result of Jewish pressure. I found the book to be fascinating, and I recommended it as an alternate view. At the same time I bashed those who had banned it. I should mention here, incidentally, that it is quite common in Canada for books to be banned in response to complaints from pressure groups. For example, the best-selling book *None Dare Call it Conspiracy* had been banned for years. Such an order means that a book cannot be imported or sold in stores, nor can it legally be sent through the mails. In the case involving my review of Butz's book, the council found against me, incredibly enough, even though it is supposed to uphold freedom of the press. But my position has always been that press councils can press my pants.

To come back to the case involving my column about the blackout in the second Zündel trial, the council refused to hear the professor's complaint. Perhaps they were tired of looking at my strikingly handsome features. Or it could have been that what I had written on the matter was unassailable. Jewish delegations had in fact visited all the mainstream media, and those media had complied with their demands. To give just two examples in the television field: The Canadian Television Network (CTV) mentioned the trial only on the day it opened, while the nationally-owned Canadian Broadcasting

Corporation (CBC) mentioned it not at all. Not while it was in progress, that is. Both networks eagerly leapt into action, naturally, when Zündel was found guilty. That made it all newsworthy. One consequence of the blackout, by the way, has been that hardly anyone in Canada has heard of the Leuchter Report, a devastating document if there ever was one.

Free Speech Under Attack

When I said a moment ago that one never knows what the future may hold, I wasn't joking. You Americans are lucky to have the First Amendment, because freedom of speech is now under attack not only in Canada but in several European countries, including Britain, which claims to have given birth to it. In short, a lot of people are inclined to talk freedom of speech but not to practise it.

It was my pleasure a couple of years ago to point out that the rarely invoked Canadian law against "spreading false news" bears a striking resemblance to similar legislation enacted by Mussolini in Italy. Even the wording is similar. Here's the text, in part, of Mussolini's 1924 law:

> If any newspaper or periodical, by false or misleading news causes any interference in the diplomatic action of the government . . . or hurts the credit of the nation at home or abroad . . . and if the newspaper or periodical . . . incites to crime or to class hatred . . . or insults the nation, such newspapers shall be suppressed.

And here is the wording of democratic Canada's "false news" law:

> Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false, and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

In what respect, I ask, is this Canadian "false news" goose fundamentally different from the Italian "false or misleading news" gander?

I must make one other point about the Zündel case that should tell you a lot about the situation in our country. In the first trial Zündel was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, and to nine months in the second. This is nothing less than savage, considering that rapists and bank robbers often get away with less. (The Zündel case is still before the Supreme

Court of Canada, by the way, but I'm not holding my breath for a just decision. Let's hope I'm wrong.)

And consider this: after the first trial, the then Minister of Immigration took only five minutes to issue a deportation order against Zündel, who is still a German citizen. Compare that with the decision of an immigration appeal board to allow an immigrant from Guyana to stay in Canada. The immigrant was a member of a gang that specialized in robbing restaurants. During an armed robbery of a McDonald's restaurant, he had brutally attacked the 21-year-old female manager and threatened to rape other female employees. After six months in jail, he was released on parole, but then had his parole revoked on account of drug offenses. This fellow has been given permission to stay in our country. Don't hold your breath in the hope that Zündel will receive equally generous treatment. Zündel's German.

Views on the Holocaust

Let me conclude with some views on the Holocaust. I don't know whether six million Jews died in Europe during the war, but I have my doubts about it. That would be six times as many British and Empire soldiers as died in the whole terrible slaughter of the First World War. To me the Six Million figure is not credible, even though one hears it repeated constantly on television and in the other media. I admit that my view is not based on professional research, but neither is most of the orthodox stuff put forward in the media. Most journalists simply repeat what they have been told. I did much the same when I wrote my memoir *P.O.W.*, in stating in a footnote that millions had died in Auschwitz.

A lot of questions rather naturally come to mind about the Holocaust story. For instance: if the Six Million figure is unquestionably accurate, why is it that Jewish organizations are so keen to hound those who dispute it? Although I was in the war for six years, it wouldn't bother me one bit if some group were running around claiming that the war didn't take place. I know it did. I suspect, therefore, that there's some truth to the Jewish quip that "there's no business like Shoah business." This is not to say, of course, that Jews were not disgracefully treated and that a large number of them did not die, simply because they were Jews.

There are other flaws in the official story. We knew there were crematoria in Bergen-Belsen when I saw the camp in 1945, but no one talked about gas chambers. Indeed, we did not hear of gas chambers at that time, nor did I ever see any. So I was surprised later to read reports in the press that there had been gas chambers at Belsen. Well, I thought, maybe I missed something. Later, it turned out that, in fact, there had been none in any of the concentration camps in western Germany, including Belsen. The extermination gas chambers, it was said later, had all been in the East.

During my recent visit to Poland, I found Auschwitz to be a decidedly gloomy place. I am confident that during the war it was a hell hole. When our tour of the camp began, we were told that four million people had died there. But by the time we left, the guide was saying that some Polish sources were putting the total at one million. The Four Million figure, we were told, had been announced by the Soviets soon after they arrived at the camp in 1945. It was also featured in the Soviet film about Auschwitz that is shown to visitors. But now the Poles, as well as Israeli professor Yehuda Bauer, have reduced that total by more than half. Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center says that it makes no difference to the Six Million figure we are always hearing about. If that is so, it must be a true marvel of mathematics.

All of this is very confusing. Also puzzling is that Auschwitz survivors are to be found in such large numbers. I understand that there are thousands of them in the Chicago area alone. Well, if the Nazi killing machine was so efficient, how is that any survived? Perhaps that's too simple a question. But as I've said, I'm a simple fellow. I could go on in this vein, but as I've told you, I have no claim to be an expert on this subject. I can claim some knowledge, however, of related matters. I recognize attacks against open discussion and free speech, no matter how clever the casuistry in which they are clothed. And I don't want to hear anyone say they are in favor of freedom of speech *but* . . . Freedom of speech is indivisible. You either have it or you don't. I know, too, that the common weal is not served by hate laws passed by weak-minded politicians who would sell their mothers for a vote or a campaign contribution. I am equally sure that war crimes trials held fifty years after the end of the war are unlikely to serve the ends of justice, but are very likely to serve the ends of

vengeance. As Lord Hailsham said in Britain during the debate over "war crimes" legislation in that country: "What these people want is a lynching party."

How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps?

CARL O. NORDLING

It is well known that the majority of those who were interned in the German concentration camps during part of the Second World War did not return to their homes after liberation. Most of these people were Jewish. It has been a common belief that about 6 million Jews died in these camps, intentionally killed in accordance with a grand program for the physical extermination of the entire Jewish population of Europe. Most laymen presume that this was proven by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1946. The International Court did not prove anything of the sort, however, and historians who have dealt with contemporary German or Jewish history have long since modified this description in various degrees.

Recently, new light has been shed on Jewish population loss in the Second World War by the German Walter N. Sanning in his book *The Dissolution of East European Jewry*. This is an investigation of twentieth-century Jewish demography and migration, done with carefulness and objectivity. It is based on more than 50 publications containing statistical population data on Jews in various countries, including migrations, fertility, mortality etc. Sanning's most quoted source is, however, Gerald Reitlinger's book *The Final Solution*, written in the 1950's. (One could say with some justice that Reitlinger laid the foundation for Sanning's work.) The great majority of statistical data used by Sanning is taken from the *American Jewish Year Book* (various issues), the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971) and the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1943). As far as I can judge, Sanning's sources appear to be the best ones obtainable.

It has been said of Sanning's work that "not one in a thousand undergraduates could find fault with it" and that "only a few more graduates would be competent to identify its flaws and to convincingly question its credibility."[1] If that be the case, I feel more or less obliged to comment. I have spent

three decades working professionally with the same kind of demographic complexes and processes, and therefore I regard myself as one of the few who would be competent to identify at least the grosser flaws and mistakes in a work of this kind. After a careful reading of Sanning's book, however, I have found no mistake or misconstruction of a type that would change its conclusions to any appreciable degree. Nor am I aware of any other serious criticism of Sanning's results or methods in the eight years that have elapsed since his book first appeared in German (as *Die Auflösung des osteuropäischen Judentums*). As a general appraisal, I would say that as far as the book deals with Jewish population losses within the German sphere of influence, it is the most reliable investigation done in the entire post-war period. This does not mean, of course, that it is guaranteed to be faultless, nor that it answers the question of how many Jews died in the German concentration camps.

Although nobody has been able to discover any faults, the book may of course contain such. Therefore, other methods should be used to check the reliability of the significant figures. Fortunately, I possess statistical material that lends itself to a check of some of Sanning's results. Furthermore, Sanning's and my own material, taken together and compared with still a few other pieces of statistical information, might enable us to form a fairly reliable answer to the question posed in the title of this article.

The statistical material at my disposal consists of data concerning 722 *identified* European Jews from the German sphere of influence. The biographies of all these 722 are to be found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and they can be regarded as a representative sample of Jews of a certain level of culture in the late 1930's. Persons of old age are overrepresented in the group, however, and none of the 722 was born later than 1909 (according to the principle of selection that I decided upon). This should be kept in mind, since it appears that emigration was much less frequent among those born before 1880 than among the younger people. And, of course, mortality was much higher among the older group than among the rest of the population. It is also significant that a great number of distinguished Jews had already emigrated before 1938 and were therefore unable to take part in the more general emigration that seems to have occurred in the years

1939 to 1941. Distinguished Jews presumably had more foreign contacts and perhaps realized the danger of impending persecutions earlier than others. Therefore, my group of identified Jews of 1938 probably includes a relatively high proportion of persons who were prone to stay where they were, even under adverse conditions. A statistical survey of the fates of all these 722 Jews has been published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 10, no. 2.

Sanning has used the year 1939 as one of his "stop lines," and for this year he has found 5,044,000 Jews present in the area under consideration.[2] By means of a series of complex calculations he is able to demonstrate that no less than about 2,200,000 Jews emigrated from the area in the period between the German attacks on Poland and on the Soviet Union (i.e. 1939-41). In other words, 44% of the Jewish population in what became the German sphere of influence would have left the danger zone before the real danger materialized. Although this figure took me by surprise, I cannot find that Sanning has erred on this point. Comparison with the group of 722 identified Jews shows that among them 33% (of those present in 1939) emigrated before the end of 1941. (See Table 1.)

The cause of the difference between 44% and 33% is easily explained by considering the special make-up of my sample group. For instance, if we look at the identified Jews born 1880-1909 and consider the whole period from 1938 to 1944, we find that no less than 51% emigrated. Those born after 1909 (i.e. about half the population) may have been even more prone to emigrate. Besides, Jews who were not renowned or in the public sector certainly had possibilities (in many cases) to change their ethnic affiliation and (in some cases) even their names and identities. By such means ordinary Jews could slip away more easily than well-known people.

Evidently, we have to consider Sanning's number of 2,847,000 Jews present in the German sphere of influence in June 1941 as the best estimate so far (certainly with margins of error). This figure will therefore be used as the base for the following comparison. With the aid of Table 1, we are now going to compare the percentages of certain significant sub-groups.

Fortunately for our purposes, the bureaucratic Germans carefully registered and numbered the detainees in the Auschwitz concentration camp and in the Theresienstadt

ghetto. While the latter was solely inhabited by Jews, the former had a mixed clientele consisting of various persecuted groups of people, such as Gypsies, conscientious objectors, homosexuals, vagrants, political adversaries and hard-boiled felons. Since it is commonly held that the Jews were by far the largest group, we will assume here that they made up 60% of all Auschwitz detainees. This granted, we find that 8.6% of all the available Jews (the "basic" group) were registered, sooner or later, in the Auschwitz camp. In many cases this happened after a previous stay at Theresienstadt. The corresponding figure for the group of identified Jews is 8.5%. Pending the arbitrariness of the above-mentioned figure of 60%, no statistically significant difference can possibly be exposed in this case. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 65% of the Auschwitz detainees were eventually recorded as having died within the camp, and another 20% are supposed to have died after transfer to satellite camps or during the final evacuation of the camp proper (i.e. Auschwitz and Birkenau). The total number of missing Auschwitz detainees would thus be 207,000, or 7.3% of the "basic" number. This may be compared with the confirmed proportion of 7.6% missing out of the "basic" number of identified Jews. (See Table 1.)

From the book on Theresienstadt by H.G. Adler we learn that 141,000 were registered as inhabitants, or internees, of this German-created Jewish town in Bohemia.[3] This number equals 5.0% of the "basic" number, which corresponds perfectly with the fact that 5.0% of the identified Jews (of 1941) were also brought to Theresienstadt. The majority of the internees of this ghetto, however, were sent to Auschwitz (and are thus included in the above mentioned number of registered prisoners). This fate befell only a fourth of the identified inhabitants of the ghetto—probably because these contained a higher proportion of so-called "prominent" Jews who were exempt from being moved to other camps. (All the Danish Jews were for some reason placed in this category.) The group of identified Jews also suffered a much lower death rate than the rest (31% each as against 63% among the ghetto remainers in each case). It follows that the percentage of survivors was much higher in the case of the identified Jews than among the inhabitants in general.

There is hardly any reason to contest the accuracy of the camp registration numbers quoted above. If they are correct, it

follows that the "basic" number of 2,847,000 Jews present in June 1941 must also be fairly accurate. This is so because we know from the sample of identified persons what percentages of camp detainees are to be expected, and we have found percentages that fit in with these expectations.

Those who died in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt represent a little less than half the total loss in all the German concentration camps as far as the identified Jews are concerned. As for the Jewish population in general, the total number of camp deaths would be contained within Sanning's category "Jews missing in the German sphere of influence." This number of "missing" turns out to be 304,000, according to Sanning's primary method of calculating. As a check, Sanning has used another method as well. This secondary calculation results in a number of 330,000 missing out of a "basic" number of 2,738,000 (within a somewhat narrower sphere of influence). The primary number of "missing" represents 10.7% of the "basic" number, the secondary 12.1% of the "basic" number. These percentages should be compared with 12.3% missing due to other causes than normal mortality among the group of identified Jews. At the first glance, this looks like a rather good agreement. But due to the coarse statistical methods used by Sanning, these figures can have "no claim to absolute certainty"—to use Sanning's own words. He says that the available data on population size, migration, flight and deportation, fertility and mortality rates, mixed marriages and assimilation tendencies are often so vague that a slight variation in the calculation procedure might well change the result by several hundreds of thousands of persons in the "missing" category. Therefore, what Sanning really has achieved is only to show that the number of missing Jews at the end of the war in the German sphere must have been between, say, 150,000 and 500,000. The lower figure can be ruled out immediately on account of the number of registered deaths in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt. The best estimate seems to be the assumption that these deaths amounted to about 51% of all Jews missing from German concentration camps, in accordance with the proportion among the groups of identified Jews. This would mean approximately 470,000 missing altogether from the camps. Since about 50,000 would have died "naturally," according to the normal mortality rate, there would be some 420,000 "missing" from a statistical point

of view. This is 14.7% of the "basic" number to be compared with 12.3% in the case of the identified Jews.

It may perhaps contribute to the check if something could be said about the number of survivors from the concentration camps. One man who should have known the number of Jewish detainees in the camps was SS leader Heinrich Himmler. Fortunately, a certain Jewish representative was in the position to interview him on this matter as late as April 1945. This was Mr. Norbert Masur from Sweden, who went to negotiate with Himmler about a possible liberation of imprisoned Jews. During these talks Himmler mentioned the number of Jews still alive in some of the camps: 25,000 in Theresienstadt, 20,000 in Ravensbrück, from 20,000 to 30,000 in Mauthausen, 50,000 in Bergen-Belsen and 6,000 in Buchenwald. Later information indicates that some of the figures were too high, and that the Buchenwald number was far too low. The sum was probably fairly correct. But Himmler intimated that 150,000 Auschwitz Jews should also be counted among the survivors. According to the SS leader, these would have been alive in the camp until its evacuation. This may be fairly true, but apparently Himmler had no count of survivors *after* the evacuation, and he seems to have had no idea of what had happened to the evacuees. We know from other sources that only a minority of them survived the transport in open railroad cars in the bitterly cold winter, perhaps about 30,000 to 50,000. Then there were many other camps with Jewish detainees, not mentioned by Himmler, and it seems reasonable to assume some 30,000 or 40,000 survivors among them. That would mean around about 200,000 Jewish survivors from all the German concentration camps. A total mortality of 70% among the Jewish detainees would follow from these assumptions. This is a very high figure from other points of view. The mortality in the corresponding group of identified Jews was "only" 75%, although they were much older than inmates in general and should have been much more prone to die under the conditions. Perhaps we have estimated somewhat too high a number of deaths and/or a little too low a number of survivors, after all.

In any case, the number of Jews missing in the German sphere turns out to be very far from the "established" figure of six million. Shouldn't we expect some cardinal error in the whole reasoning just because of this great discrepancy?

Certainly, some further checking seems required. But first, let us remember that we have considered here only the number of Jews who died in the German concentration camps, not all the European Jews who died in the war. Among the 5,500,000 Jews in the Soviet sphere (in 1941) more than one million died, according to Sanning's investigation. These deaths include both "normal" victims of the war and victims of German and Soviet persecution. Secondly, the Jewish "basic" population of about 2,850,000 couldn't possibly have suffered a loss of something like six million. This figure should have been discarded long ago, especially since Reitlinger proved it to be unrealistic nearly 40 years ago. The reasonable question to ask is rather this: In view of the proclaimed anti-Semitic policy of the National Socialists and Hitler's talk about *Ausrottung*, how could more than two million escape deportation? What about the famous German efficiency?

Part of the answer comes from Himmler himself, who said to Mr. Masur: "I have left 450,000 Jews in Hungary"—as if he had done it out of humanity. (The real reason probably was lack of transport facilities at the time when Hungary came under direct German rule.) Romania never came under direct German rule, and consequently very few Romanian Jews were deported to German camps. The Romanian government pursued an anti-Semitic policy of its own, and Hitler was satisfied with that. More than half a million of the "basic" number were Romanian Jews. Much the same conditions prevailed in Italy, France, Croatia and Slovakia, and the Gestapo had to be content, in most cases, with shipments of non-naturalized Jews from these countries. Naturalized Jews in Belgium, Bulgaria and Finland seem to have been entirely exempt from deportation. In Poland, hundreds of thousands of Jews were allowed to stay in the city ghettos (until they revolted as in Warsaw 1943). Most of the Jews in Denmark escaped the planned deportation by fleeing over the Sound to Sweden—and the German Army and Navy did virtually nothing to prevent them.

The fate of the non-deported Jews was often very miserable, especially in the case of Poland, and it certainly deserves a special study.

Another problem that would deserve a special study from a statistical point of view is the alleged system of transporting old Jews incapable of work to camps in the East with the sole

intention of killing them immediately upon arrival. It would be unavailing to look for such cases in the registers, since the allegation requires that the murder took place without any notice taken of the names and identities of the victims. All that can be said here is that the alleged practice could hardly have been responsible for any large number of deaths. If that had been the case, there would certainly have been many more than 32 missing after Auschwitz among all the identified Jews reported by the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. And, since a quarter of the identified Jews sent to Auschwitz were aged 65-80, we would probably have seen several cases of "killed on arrival" in their biographical notices. Instead, we find two rather unexpected examples. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* reports of Gisi Fleischmann (47) that she was "killed on arrival," and of Raymond Lambert (49), "gassed upon arrival." On the other hand, it says that e.g. Béla Bernstein (76) "died" in Auschwitz and Eduard Duckesz (76) "perished" within the camp. It is not even certain that the *Encyclopaedia* is to be relied on in the case of Fleischmann, since later information reports her as deported to Birkenau (Auschwitz) in August and murdered about 18 October (Martin Gilbert in his book *The Holocaust*, 1986).

Our general conclusion must be that the question posed in this article's title cannot be answered with any precision as long as we have recourse only to the above-mentioned sources. The general magnitude was certainly half a million, but the actual number of Jews who died in the German concentration camps might well have been as low as 300,000 or as high as 600,000. In order to establish a more precise answer to the question, more sample investigations should be accomplished. Any Jewish society, club, school class or small community might constitute such a sample, if only all or most of its members could be traced through the war. The study of a sufficient number of such samples would probably answer the above question and a number of other questions as well.

I shall finish this article by referring to just one small sample group of deported Jews from the Holocaust literature:

Albert Düssel taken to Auschwitz, later to Neuengamme, died there 1945

Mrs. "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, later to Buchenwald, died there 1945

Peter "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, later to Mauthausen, died there 1945

Statistical Data Concerning Jewish Population in German Controlled Area Compared to the Corresponding Figures For a Sample of Identified Jews in Same Area

TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION				IDENTIFIED PERSONS	
Category	**Thousands**	**%**	**%**	**Number**	**Category**
Present 1939 (Source: Sanning)	5,044			629	Present Jan. 1939 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Emigrated 1939-41 (Source: Sanning)	-2,197			- 206	Emigrated 1939-41 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Present 1941	= 2,847	100	100	= 423	Present December 1941
Jews registered at Auschwitz (assuming that 60% of all registered were Jewish) (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)	244	8.5	8.6	36	Deported to Auschwitz (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Missing in May 1945 (85% of all according to *Enc. Judaica*)	-207	7.3	7.6	-32	Missing in May 1945 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Survived Auschwitz	= 37	1.3	0.9	= 4	Survived Auschwitz
Registered at Theresienstadt (Source: H.G. Adler)	141	5.0	5.0	21	Deported to Theresienstadt (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Forwarded from Ther. (Source: H.G. Adler)	-88	3.1	1.2	-5	Forwarded from Ther. (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Died in Theresienst. (Source: H.G. Adler)	-33.5	1.2	1.2	-5	Died in Theresienst. (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Survived Theresienst.	= 19.5	0.7	2.6	= 11	Survived Theresienst.
			17.0	72	Missing after deport. to concentration camps (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Missing not due to emigration or normal mortality (Source: Sanning)	304	10.7	12.3	52	Missing not due to normal mortality (72-20)
Alive in conc. camps April 1945 according to Himmler (Source: N. Masur)	275	9.6	5.7	24	Alive in conc. camps May 1945 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)

Note: All figures refer to Jews living in the countries under German control in June 1941.

Table 1

Margot Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
Anne Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
Mrs. Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
Mr. "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, last seen there in 1945
Mr. Frank taken to Auschwitz, survived in camp hospital.

This gives some idea of what can be achieved by means of the study of samples of known individuals.

Sources: Adler, H.G.: *Theresienstadt*, 1941-1945. Tübingen, 1960

Encyclopaedia Judaica. Jerusalem, 1972.

Sanning, W.N.: *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry.* Costa Mesa, California, 1990.

Masur, Norbert: *En jude talar med Himmler.* Stockholm, 1945.

NATIONALISM & ANTISEMITISM IN MODERN EUROPE 1815-1945 by Shmuel Almog. Translated from the Hebrew by Ralph Mendel. Oxford, New York, et al: Pergamon Press, 1990, 160 pp., illustrated, $56.00; ISBN 0-08-037254-6 Hardcover; $17.00 ISBN 0-08-037774-2 Paperback.

Reviewed by Frederick Kerr

The addition of "Holocaust Studies" to school curricula has emerged as a growth industry in American education. Courses are being included for high school and college students, with the objective that no one may pass through the Halls of Ivy without becoming familiar with "the historical record of Jewish victimization." Courses require textbooks, and *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Europe 1815-1945*, by Shmuel Almog, is the first in a series prepared for use by college students and high school instructors by the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in cooperation with the Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History of the Historical Society of Israel. Editions are simultaneously being made available in the United States, Britain, Canada, Germany, Brazil, Australia, Japan and the People's Republic of China.

In his preface, Prof. Almog admits that the drive to focus attention on this topic has been prompted as a response to "the revisionist denial that the Holocaust ever occurred, or the attempt to diminish its magnitude." Revisionism and the new wave of nationalism sweeping through the former satellites of the crumbling Soviet Empire "obligate us to probe the history of Jew-hatred (and) the persistence of this phenomenon."

The extermination of Jews at Auschwitz and elsewhere is a "given" in this volume. What the author seeks to reveal is the persistence and continuity of anti-Jewish sentiment throughout Europe following the fall of Napoleon. Wherever peoples strove for self-determination, Jews were viewed with distrust by patriotic elements. Consequently, Almog observes, "modern antisemitism is incomprehensible without reference to nationalism."

Over some seven chapters, the author argues that mistrust of Jews was widespread and not limited to religious cranks or ignorant peasants. The very process of political evolution from dynastic monarchies to indigenous nation-states often led to the removal of Jews from their former influential positions in these realms.

Almog's survey draws attention to policies and events that may cause more thoughtful students to pause and ponder just what was transpiring during this period. For example, the Russian monarchy is portrayed as anti-Semitic. Yet, in his chapter "Revolutions and Counterrevolutions," the author mentions that the Tsarist occupation regime in Poland prohibited anti-Jewish pamphleteering.

It was the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 that sparked off anti-Jewish riots in Russia. Thereafter, government authorities began to re-examine the role played by Jews and their relationship to the majority population. A memorandum prepared for the newly crowned Tsar Alexander III by the future Interior Minister Nikolai Ignatyev (1832-1908) is excerpted by Almog:

> In Petersburg there exists a powerful group of Poles and Yids which holds in its hands direct control of banks, the stock exchange, the bar, a great part of the press, and other areas of public life. Through many legal and illegal ways it exerts an enormous influence over the bureaucracy and the general course of affairs. Parts of their group are implicated in the growing plunder of the exchange and in seditious activity . . .

German anti-Semitism was marked by the participation of prominent intellectuals and artists, such as Richard Wagner. In Germany, Jews came to be viewed in a new light following the failure of the revolutions of 1848. The creation of the German Empire corresponded with a growing suspicion that Jews were "dual loyalists." The 1892 Tivoli Conference of the Conservative Party issued a platform that openly called for curbing "the ruinous Jewish influence."

Anti-Jewish sentiment spread throughout Europe in the aftermath of the First World War, touched off by the Balfour Declaration, and, more immediately, by events in Russia, and Eastern and Central Europe. "The large numbers of Jews in the Communist parties," Almog notes, "magnified the historic enmity toward Jews." Almog lists Jews who played stellar roles in the Communist revolts in Russia, Germany and Hungary.

He even points out that many of them assumed aliases, but to no avail, for "soon enough their former names—Bronstein, Radomislsky, Rosenfeld, Zederbaum, Sobelsohn—were also revealed . . . The public regarded them as an attempt to deceive the world about the true origin of the revolutionaries, so as to veil the Jewish character of the Revolution."

Nationalism and Anti-Semitism highlights Polish attitudes toward their own Jewish "problem." Here, readers learn, quite likely for the first time, that anti-Jewish feelings perhaps ran stronger in Poland than in Nazi Germany. The author cites a 1938 British Foreign Office report on a meeting between the Director of the Central European Desk and the Polish Ambassador:

> Poland's Jewish problem was much more serious than Germany's. The Jewish population was proportionately much greater. The Germans were persecuting the Jews largely for reasons of doctrine; in Poland the problem was a very pressing economic one . . . The [Polish Jews] would make good colonists in such a place as Northern Rhodesia, and would be anxious to emigrate at the rate of some 100,000 per year.

Almog goes on to point out that during the years 1936 through 1938, the Polish government repeatedly asked Great Britain and France to assist them in resettling Jews out of Europe to African colonies or Palestine.

Brief mention is also made of anti-Jewish activities before and during the Second World War in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and France.

Extermination, the author concedes in his summary on "War and Holocaust," was not foreseen as the "answer" to Europe's Jewish problems. He goes on to admit that "there is no indication that the 'Final Solution' was planned prior to the outbreak of the war (and perhaps not even before the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941)."

At this point *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe* terminates. Other books in the series will undoubtedly deal with the "mechanics" of the Holocaust. Perhaps against the author's intentions, what the reader of this book comes to see is that Jews were held suspect by respectable elements throughout Europe. Far from answering students' questions, this book may well raise more questions about the relationship between nationalism and "anti-Semitism," and the causes of the latter.

THE WEB OF DISINFORMATION: CHURCHILL'S YUGOSLAV BLUNDER by David Martin. San Diego and New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1990. Hb., 425 pp., $29.95; ISBN 0-15-18074-3.

Reviewed by Robert Clive

In the weeks preceding Hitler's pre-emptive attack on Stalin, events in the Balkans took a turn for the worse. On March 25, 1941, Yugoslav Prime Minister Cvetkovic went to Vienna, where he signed the Tripartite Pact. Germany agreed to respect Yugoslav sovereignty and not demand right of passage for Axis troops. Two days later, a British and American-engineered coup overthrew the Council of Regency and deposed Prince Paul. Seventeen-year-old King Peter became the figurehead for a government headed by Yugoslav Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Simovic. While the anti-Axis shift was popular among Serbian segments of the population, it was markedly less so among the Croats.

Hitler's response to the change of government in Belgrade was to issue Directive 25, which ordered immediate planning for the invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece. The German leader here acknowledged that he might be forced to delay Operation Barbarossa—the invasion of the USSR—to allow these new operations to take place, thus securing his southern flank.

German forces invaded Yugoslavia and Greece on April 6. On the 10th Zagreb radio announced the establishment of an independent Croatian republic under their nationalist leader Ante Pavelic. On the 11th Italian and Hungarian Army divisions launched cautious attacks on Yugoslav positions. Belgrade surrendered to Gen. von Kleist on the 12th; on the 14th King Peter fled the country; and on the 17th, former Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovic signed an armistace with the Germans, who lost fewer than 200 dead in the Yugoslavian campaign. Ten days later, Athens fell to the Wehrmacht.

Despite the armistice, a Yugoslav government-in-exile was recognized and operated out of London throughout the rest of the war. It called upon all Yugoslavs to take up arms. This challenge was most effectively supported by the Serbian royalist Gen. Draza Mihailovic, who at the time of the Axis invasion was in charge of the Operations Bureau of the General Staff. Mihailovic quickly established his Home Army

resistance movement in Serbia and in January 1942 was appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces and war minister by the government-in-exile.

Throughout most of 1942, Mihailovic enjoyed the unqualified support of the Western Allies, who lionized him in their press as the greatest resistance leader in Axis-occupied Europe. Early in 1943, the mood in London began to shift toward support for Joseph Broz Tito, head of a small Communist-led movement. By the end of the year a dramatic switch in policy occurred, with the anti-Communist Mihailovic being cut off from further support. London, Washington, and Moscow were now unanimous in their backing of Tito's Red "Partisans."

Even after the government-in-exile stripped him of his official duties, Mihailovic fought on against the Germans. But at war's end, he was accused of treason against the new Tito-led government. On March 25, 1946, seventeen months after the Soviet Army captured Belgrade, the still defiant Mihailovic was captured and, on July 17, executed by a Red firing squad. Tito imposed a Communist regime that reigned for 45 years. As we go to press, the Yugoslavia he ruled is in the process of disintegration.

How it came to pass that the West turned their backs on Mihailovic is a question that has troubled David Martin for over four decades. His first book on the topic, *Ally Betrayed*, was published in 1946. The Hoover Institution issued his 1978 study, *Patriot or Traitor: The Case of General Mihailovich*. This third volume represents the culmination of Martin's efforts to defend and rehabilitate Mihailovic. It is not a mere reiteration of previously explored material, but is based on research conducted in Mihailovic's own archives, those of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, British state papers for the period 1941-1945, and interviews with over one hundred people directly involved.

Martin concludes that the fateful change in British policy was due to a remarkably successful campaign of disinformation and sabotage launched some six to eight months before Winston Churchill terminated further support for Mihailovic and proceeded to provide enthusiastic backing to Tito. British intelligence agencies, especially the Yugoslav Section of Special Operations Executive (SOE), headquartered first in Cairo and later in Bari, Italy, was the locus of the anti-

Mihailovic elements. It was the Yugoslav Section that was responsible for relaying intelligence about resistance activities to SOE-London and the British Foreign Office. The Cairo office, Martin shows, engaged in large-scale falsifications, by failing to acknowledge Mihailovic's efforts directed against Axis occupation forces, and by grossly inflating the scale of Tito's activities and the level of support his Partisans enjoyed throughout the area.

After sifting through thousands of pages of previously classified records, the author concluded that one man was primarily responsible for engineering this history-making campaign: James Klugman, deputy chief of SOE Yugoslavia Section. Klugman, it emerges, was, with Kim Philby, Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt, and Donald Maclean, another member of the nest of Cambridge Communists who moled their way into strategic positions in British intelligence during and after World War II.

Klugman, the son of a prosperous Jewish merchant, was born in London in 1912. He attended Trinity College, Cambridge and became a leader in the European Communist youth movement in the 1930s. After his wartime service as an intelligence and coordinating officer, reaching the rank of major, in the Yugoslav Section of SOE, he became a member of the executive committee of the British Communist Party and editor of *Marxism Today*. Michael Straight described Klugman, who died in 1977, as "a warm-hearted and compassionate intellectual whose commitment to Communism left him no time for such minor preoccupations as taking a bath or cleaning his fingernails."

In February 1942 Klugman was posted to the Yugoslav Section of SOE. There, according to Martin, Klugman was able to orchestrate the campaign against Mihailovic. He was the first to receive messages from the field. He wrote the situation reports, briefed his superiors, and drafted position papers. Through the doctored reports he passed along, Klugman portrayed the Home Army as inactive and ineffective; charged that members of Mihailovic's staff were collaborators who concentrated their military operations against the heroic Partisans; and claimed that Mihailovic had lost most of his popular following.

Klugman's reports in turn influenced the line taken by the Political Warfare Executive, Secret Intelligence Service (M16),

the Foreign Office, and BBC. Klugman possessed almost unlimited possibilities for misinforming those who ultimately set policy.

Martin strips away the layers of myth surrounding Tito's wartime efforts. It turns out that Mihailovic's Home Army vastly outnumbered the Partisans, who, with a view toward post-war politics, fought most of their battles against Mihailovic, not the Axis occupation forces. The Partisans deliberately provoked retaliatory strikes on peaceful villages, by slipping into areas, killing a few Axis soldiers, and then stealing away. Villages "liberated" by Tito's thugs often endured a reign of terror. Many Yugoslavs felt better off under Axis control.

Churchill, who reveled in the dramatic, eagerly boosted Tito's reputation as a resistance leader. Based on Klugman's reports, the Prime Minister claimed that the Partisans were tying down 24 crack German divisions. In fact, only eight understrength divisions, along with some Bulgarian and Croatian Ustase units, were deployed in Yugoslavia during 1943 to the fall of 1944. According to Martin, it is doubtful if Tito's forces killed as many as 5,000 Germans before the Red Army stormed into the country in October 1944.

The author discloses that in March 1943 Tito sent a delegation to German headquarters at Sarajevo proposing a truce so that they could both concentrate against the Home Army. Additionally, Tito promised to fight against the British should they land troops in Yugoslavia. For unknown reasons, this offer was turned down by Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop.

It is noteworthy that the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) was less impressed with Tito. Based on a 40-page field report filed by Capt. Walter Mansfield at the end of March 1944, the U.S. offered to continue supplying Mihailovic. OSS's founder and chief, "Wild Bill" Donovan, argued that the Western Allies needed to keep their options open in the Balkans. This proposal was flatly rejected by Churchill. Col. S.W. Bailey, of British intelligence, actually called for Mihailovic's assassination.

The OSS retained its contacts with the Home Army. On November 9, 1944, after the Red Army invaded the area, Donovan received a field report from Lt. Col. Robert McDowell, a Balkan specialist from the University of

Michigan who was considered to be the most qualified intelligence officer, British or American, on matters pertaining to Yugoslavia. McDowell's report flatly contradicted the stance taken by British intelligence. It was his "considered judgement" that during the months preceeding the Soviet assault on Belgrade, Mihailovic's ill-equipped forces did far more than the Partisans to kill, capture, and disrupt the Wehrmacht. McDowell further disclosed that Tito's units engaged in wholesale acts of terrorism against Yugoslav peasants. Copies of his report were forwarded to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

Martin's account is not without significant defects. The author glosses over the strident Serbian chauvinsim of General Mihailovic and his followers, which led the Chetniks to commit many atrocities in the savage warfare which raged between Serb and Croat in the ruins of Yugoslavia. It is fair to point out, as has former IHR editorial advisor Ivo Omrcanin in his *Enigma Tito*, that Britain's traditional divide and rule policies in the Balkans impelled them to back both anti-German guerrilla movements, particularly since Mihailovic's Serbian Chetniks had no drawing power whatsoever among Croats, Slovenes, and other of Yugoslavia's national and ethnic groups.

In his efforts to fix blame on the comparatively low-ranking Klugman, Martin scants the responsibility of Klugman's superiors, above all Winston Churchill, who after all was firmly allied with Stalin and his Soviet Union, next to whom Tito and his Partisans were small fry indeed. Martin's mistake is one which has been made repeatedly by writers whose anti-Communism was a Cold War *Spätlese*, and who exonerate the Roosevelts and the Churchills in their search for Soviet agents who were more often carrying out than subverting their governments' policies.

Nevertheless, Martin's study, which culminates a lifetime of devotion to Mihailovic and his cause, is a timely reminder that the leaders of Britain, like those of America, could be as faithless to their friends as they were ruthless to their enemies: the fate of Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs, and other central and east Europeans unwise enough to be anti-Communist as well as anti-German is a standing rebuke to the self-congratulatory fustian with which keepers of the Churchill flame customarily celebrate his role in the Second World War.

A Prominent Holocaust Historian Wrestles with a Rising Revisionism

MARK WEBER

Defenders of the crumbling Holocaust story are confused and frustrated about how best to respond to the increasingly "sophisticated" arguments of Revisionists, a leading Holocaust historian says. Writing in the April 1991 issue of *Dimensions*, the Zionist Anti-Defamation League's "Journal of Holocaust Studies," Deborah Lipstadt declares that Revisionist historians must be relentlessly "exposed" and denounced, while carefully avoiding any discussion of what they actually write and say.

Lipstadt teaches history at Occidental College in Los Angeles. She is the author of *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945*, and is currently working on a book about Holocaust Revisionism. If it is anything like this essay, her forthcoming work will be little more than a polemical smear job.

Holocaust Revisionism can no longer simply be "brushed off," she writes in her essay, "Resisting History," because Revisionists have adopted a much more serious and scholarly approach in recent years:

> Lately, the deniers' work has become more virulent and dangerous, in part because it has become more sophisticated. Their publications, including *The Journal of Historical Review*, mimic legitimate scholarly publications. This confuses those who do not immediately know the *Journal's* intentions.

To demonstrate that Revisionist "books and journals have been given an academic format," an illustration of the front cover of the Spring 1990 *Journal* accompanies Lipstadt's essay.

Lipstadt sees dark clouds on the horizon. For one thing, "the impact of revisionist claims on young people is of valid concern since they are the most willing to listen." Revisionists "have also strengthened their ties with influential political groups both within the United States and Europe," she warns

gravely. One such group, she adds, is France's National Front. "Although these groups are small, their influence and power seem to be increasing rapidly."

Ms. Lipstadt expresses particular concern at the worldwide impact of American execution expert Fred Leuchter's forensic investigation of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and his conclusion that they were never used as extermination facilities.

While the overall impact of Holocaust Revisionism is still quite limited, Lipstadt sees no reason for complacency:

> What is clear, however, is that the existence of Holocaust denial has given relativism a cloak of respectability. Denial has stretched the parameters of debate so far to one side that questions once considered outlandish and dismissed as historically untenable now find acceptance . . . These include doubts about fundamental aspects of the Holocaust—the existence of gas chambers, Hitler's knowledge of the Final Solution, and the innocence of the Jews.

Responding to the arguments and facts presented by Holocaust Revisionists is very hazardous, Lipstadt contends, because what they write and say is now such a sophisticated mixture of truth and falsehood that they are "confusing readers who are unfamiliar with the deniers' tactics." On another occasion, Lipstadt has said that, "unless you're a specialist, it's hard to debate them [the Revisionists]." (New York *Daily News*, Oct. 15, 1990, p. 29.) Moreover, she writes in her ADL essay, "to debate them [Holocaust Revisionists] is to risk giving their efforts the imprimatur of a legitimate historical option."

In Lipstadt's view, responding to the Revisionists is a fruitless task:

> The speciousness of their arguments, not the arguments themselves, demands a response. The insidious way in which denial enters the mainstream—often disguised as relativism—must be fully exposed . . . We need not waste time or effort answering the deniers' contentions.

Contradicting herself somewhat, Lipstadt makes a feeble effort to refute Revisionism by giving a distorted and essentially dishonest summary of what she contends are the "claims" of "the deniers." Without citing a shred of evidence, she falsely charges, for example, that "the revisionists draw a great deal of inspiration from the *Protocols* [*of the Elders of Zion*]."

Quoting from a 1962 essay by American Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, Lipstadt contends that "for some deniers, Hitler . . . was a man whose only fault was that he was 'too soft, generous and honorable.'" What Barnes actually wrote is not quite so simplistic:

> While the theory of Hitler's diabolism is generally accepted, there are very well informed persons who contend that he brought himself and Germany to ruin by being too soft, generous and honorable, rather than too tough and ruthless. They point to the following considerations . . .

(From "Revisionism and Brainwashing," reprinted in *Barnes Against the Blackout*, p. 251.)

Lipstadt also writes:

> Deniers acknowledge that some Jews were incarcerated in places like Auschwitz, but, they maintain, the camps were equipped with recreational facilities like swimming pools and dance halls.

While Lipstadt can safely assume that most of her readers will "knowingly" dismiss this latter contention as absurd nonsense, there were, in fact, recreational facilities in the camp, as numerous former inmates have recalled. (One such Auschwitz survivor, Marc Klein, confirmed that "the SS administration allowed regular amusements for the prisoners," including cabaret performances and soccer, basketball and water polo matches. [*JHR*, Summer 1991, pp. 133-134.])

Perhaps Lipstadt's most grotesque distortion of the truth is her assertion that "For the deniers what happened to the Jews is beside the point: Jews were not victims, they are victimizers." As anyone familiar with the writings of Rassinier, Faurisson, Butz and Irving is aware, no serious Revisionist denies the victimization of millions of Jews in Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and other European countries. They were deprived of their liberty and property, rounded up, and brutally deported to crowded ghettos and camps where hundreds of thousands died under miserable and often horrible circumstances.

In a recent talk at San Diego State University, Lipstadt compared Holocaust "deniers" to those who believe that the earth is flat, and wrongly asserted that Holocaust Revisionism was begun by "the neo-fascist George Lincoln Rockwell . . . in the 1950s."

In fact, the generally acknowledged pioneer of Holocaust Revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French wartime Resistance activist who was arrested by the Gestapo and interned in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. After the war, he authored a series of books that took issue with the extermination legend. His first was a memoir of his camp experiences published in 1948, which was followed by *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* in 1950. (One could also plausibly argue that the first Holocaust Revisionist was Hermann Göring, who declared before the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1946 that there had not been any German program or policy to exterminate Europe's Jews.)

Lipstadt, who is not stupid, must know full well that much of what she says and writes is quite simply not true.

If Revisionist arguments are really as nonsensical as Lipstadt insists, she and others would presumably have no difficulty whatsoever refuting them. But as Lipstadt is certainly aware, efforts to seriously refute Revisionist arguments are almost invariably a calamity for the "Exterminationist" side.

The Pressac fiasco is a good case in point. Large amounts of money were spent by the "Nazi-hunting" Klarsfelds and their allies to publish and distribute Jean-Claude Pressac's 564-page book about Auschwitz, which was meant to be a definitive response to the Revisionists. As *Journal* readers know, Pressac's 1989 work has proven, in fact, to be a tremendous, if unintentional, boost to the Revisionist view of the Holocaust issue.

After reassuring readers that only twisted or misguided minds could give any credence to Revisionist arguments, Lipstadt declares, rather paradoxically, that these absurd "flat earth" views pose a grave danger to the very foundations of our social order. "Holocaust denial," she warns darkly, is "an attack on the most basic values of a reasoned society."

If anything, it is polemical writing like Lipstadt's, with its barely veiled assault against the principle of free speech and free inquiry, that really strikes at the foundations of a free and reasoned society. Her words are all the more ominous because they are sponsored by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, with its formidable financial resources and political clout.

Anxious about what she calls "the dangers of free inquiry," and troubled by the Revisionist commitment to free speech, Lipstadt warns:

> It is this commitment to free inquiry and the power of mythical thinking that explains, at least in part, how revisionists have attracted leading figures and institutions. [MIT professor] Noam Chomsky is probably the best known among them. Chomsky wrote the introduction to a book by French revisionist Robert Faurisson . . . Chomsky's example shows why the dangers of free inquiry should be taken seriously.

(To be precise, Chomsky did not endorse Holocaust Revisionism. He simply defended the Revisionists' right of free speech.)

Lipstadt continues with what amounts to an oblique attack against the principle of free speech:

> Those who are committed to the liberal idea of dialogue fail to recognize that certain views are beyond the bounds of rational discourse . . . In the case of Holocaust denial, reason becomes hostage to a particularly odious ideology.

What is implied here is that only the ADL-approved version of Second World War history should be tolerated.

Lipstadt is not optimistic. "Many people," she notes with dismay, now "regard revisionist arguments as a test of free speech."

"It is only when society comprehends this group's real intentions," Lipstadt warns, "that we can be sure that history will not be reshaped to promote a variety of pernicious objectives." The Revisionists' hidden motives, she rather predictably explains, are "racism, extremism, and virulent anti-Semitism." These days, this is just about the most terrible accusation that anyone can make. What's worse, this charge is almost impossible to disprove, especially when made by an organization as influential as the ADL.

For ADL publicists like Lipstadt, it simply does not matter that articles and essays by Jewish and non-White writers have appeared in the IHR's quarterly *Journal*, along with explicit denunciations of racism, and that the IHR publishes and distributes writing by some of the best-known and most widely read historians in the world today.

Similarly, it doesn't matter that Harry Elmer Barnes, who is correctly identified by Lipstadt as a prominent American Revisionist historian, made clear his personal view of Hitler and his regime in the very essay misleadingly quoted earlier by Lipstadt.

> The truth about 1939 in no way involves or necessitates any approval of Hitler, National Socialism or the National Socialist regime [wrote Barnes] . . . Nothing that I have ever written or ever shall write is even more remotely designed to "rehabilitate Hitler." . . . The National Socialist regime was assuredly not one for which I have either public or personal affection . . . As an American liberal, I could hardly be regarded as admiring any form of conservative totalitarianism.

(From "Revisionism and Brainwashing," reprinted in *Barnes Against the Blackout*, pp. 244, 245, 248.)

In any case, the racism/anti-Semitism charge is ultimately irrelevant. In the final analysis, Revisionist arguments must stand or fall on their own merits, or lack of them. To dismiss them because of the real or imagined motives of the Revisionists would be like rejecting the one-time "extremist" findings of Nicholas Copernicus—that the earth revolves around the sun—by charging that he was motivated by hatred of the papacy and the Church.

Holocaust Revisionism is particularly insidious, Lipstadt maintains, because it "robs the Holocaust of its uniqueness and its capacity to offer the world ethical, moral and political lessons. It reduces the Holocaust to a merely relative evil."

As any serious student of history understands, of course, every historical episode is both unique and relative. While every event—just like every person—is unique, each historical event also has parallels with similar happenings in the past and future.

History is the record of *human* behavior—in all its complex tragedy and glory—which is precisely why it is so fascinating and so well worth studying and understanding. Just as experience and maturity enable us to anticipate how other human beings are likely to act in given circumstances, so also does a study of history help to understand and anticipate how societies, nations and governments are likely to act in given situations.

To review any historical era or event thoughtfully and objectively is, inevitably, to "relativize" it. Contrary to what Lipstadt believes, though, it is only by taking a sober, thoughtful and dispassionate view of the fate of European Jewry during the Second World War that humanity can draw useful lessons from this dark chapter of history.

What Lipstadt and those like her implicitly argue is that Jewish history must be treated differently than the history of

any other people or nation. It must be treated with a special reverence, she suggests, and viewed not historically, but theologically.

Even her constant use of the term "Holocaust denial" is revealing. She treats "The Holocaust" as something close to sacred dogma—much as a devout Christian might regard the Resurrection of Christ—which only blasphemous heretics would dare "deny." (To deny the validity of Christianity in the State of Maryland was a crime punishable by death until 1826.)

For partisan moralists like Lipstadt, the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War must never be regarded as one of many grim chapters of human history. Instead "The Holocaust" must be considered as a grand but simplistic drama of Good versus Evil, a morality play about innocent victims and satanic victimizers.

In this essay, Ms. Lipstadt shows how at least one arm of the powerful Holocaust lobby is frantically trying to cope with the increasingly influential phenomenon of Holocaust Revisionism, and provides, however unintentionally, some revealing insights into this lobby's ominous agenda for our society. Her frantic protests nothwithstanding, Lipstadt also demonstrates that she is herself guilty of the very prejudice and close-mindedness she so lightly imputes to Revisionists.

At the same time, this essay is encouraging. Lipstadt acknowledges the effective and growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism, and concedes that Revisionist arguments are difficult to refute. Finally, this essay confirms that the forces of intolerance and bigotry are not invincible, and that historical truth can prevail over even the most formidable of adversaries.

A Call for a Congressional Investigation

The Murder of Rudolf Hess

D.D. DESJARDINS

I was in Ohio on August 17, 1987 when news came of the death of Rudolf Hess at Spandau Prison. Within several days, it was reported that Hess had committed suicide, a version endorsed several weeks later by his Allied jailers (the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France) in official communiqués:

> Rudolf Hess hung himself from the bar of the window of a small building in the prison garden, using the electric cord of a reading lamp. Efforts were made to resuscitate him. He was rushed to the British Military Hospital, where, after several further efforts, he was pronounced dead at 4:10 p.m. local time.
>
> A note addressed to the Hess family has been found in his pocket: "Thanks to the directors for addressing this message to my home. Written several minutes before my death."

It was then only a passing thought that Hess might have been a victim of foul play rather than a man who would willfully take his own life. The Hess I'd learned about through reading Eugene K. Bird's *Prisoner No. 7* or G. Gordon Liddy[1] did not seem the sort of man who would leave this world voluntarily, but rather as a man true to his ideas and idols, defiant to the end.

It was not until May, 1989, while in Paris during a short stay, that I happened across an article in *Le Figaro Magazine* (No. 13871) written by Jean-Pax Méfret which suggested Hess' death was something other than suicide. Had it been a matter of some tabloid announcement, a Gallic version of our *National Enquirer*, that would have been easy to dismiss, but here it was in one of France's most prestigious weeklies.

The twists and turns of Jean-Pax Méfret's year-long investigation led him through various clandestine contacts and secret rendezvous, often with persons who, knowing his

profession, were careful about their identity and what they said.

A chance meeting in March, 1988 between Méfret and an Allied officer stationed in Berlin, for example, gave a lead which helped spark further investigation when the officer suddenly confided: "Rudolf Hess . . . he did not commit suicide" (and again after a momentary pause), "Hess did not commit suicide." The officer met Méfret again the following day and, under a guarantee of anonymity, revealingly hedged his earlier statement:

> Forget what I told you the other evening. In any event, this matter can't leak out: everything has been perfectly arranged. The outbuilding was burned down within 48 hours. Even the cord which Hess supposedly used to hang himself has gone up in smoke. No one will ever be able to prove that this old Nazi didn't kill himself.

What the Allied officer said about proof, seven months after Hess' death, would soon be contradicted by several key testimonies. One of these was by Abdallah Melaouhi, Hess' medical attendant at Spandau since August, 1982. Broadcast in an interview over B.B.C. news February 28, 1989, Melaouhi stated categorically that he did not accept the official suicide thesis. On the day of Hess's death he described how his normal visit time of 11:20 was changed to have him arrive 40 minutes earlier, and how later that day when he entered the room where Hess was supposed to have hanged himself, ". . . everything was topsy-turvy, yet the cord was in its normal place and still plugged into the wall."

A more telling testimony is the report of Professor Dr. Wolfgang Spann, the medical expert hired by the Hess family to perform a second autopsy, which had not yet been made public at the time of Méfret's article. Spann's detailed examination of the neck failed to corroborate the autopsy of the Four Powers' pathologist, J.M. Cameron, who reported a suicide: Spann found that Hess had died from strangulation, not hanging.[2]

Through the services of an anonymous Spandau employee, Jean-Pax Méfret obtained a copy of a letter written by Rudolf Hess dated 27 October, 1984 to the "governments of the four powers of allied military protection of Berlin-Spandau." In this letter, Hess, at age 90, describes his state of health as part of a request for liberty. This description, predating Hess' alleged

suicide by almost three years, starkly contrasts with that of a man who could, with very little time and under the surveillance of his guard, noose an electric cord, tie it to the bar of a window and hang himself. Here is a translation of the letter:

> Until recently, I was three-fourths blind. Yet part of my left eye was still in perfect condition. Since the morning of Friday, 17 August, it has meanwhile developed that I was no longer able to read normal sized letters of newspaper text. Even certain 4 centimeter characters printed in the title of a paper were no longer visible. There is nothing left in their place but empty space . . . The detachment of the retina will continue until such time as I become totally blind . . . Within the time of twenty minutes while I walk in the prison garden I experience heart problems. This forces me to sit down and to rest so as to take up my activity for a short period . . . I have oedema of the legs which only goes away on condition I elevate my legs both day and night. I also have weakness in my thighs of which the muscles no longer control bending of the knees, so much so that I can no longer raise myself, not even with the use of my cane. It is necessary for another person to help me get on my feet . . . My intestines are displaced to the right, forming a large lump below the abdomen. A few steps suffice to provoke extreme pain.

Is this the description of a man who could hang himself? Not unless it can be supposed Hess's condition improved dramatically in the course of the three-year interval.

Another telling document obtained by Méfret is the letter Rudolf Hess wrote to Mr. Keane, the American Director of Spandau. Dated 4 April, 1987 (just four months prior to Hess's death), it reads as follows:

> As motive for my previously submitted request concerning the dismissal of the American guard *Jordan* [emphasis added]: he is of poor upbringing, yes, very overbearing and harmful towards me. All the others are amicable, polite and helpful in my regard. Even the directors are of the highest manners. Mr. Jordan has now become a danger to my health. I pass my two hours with him with great difficulty, with a continuous elevation of my blood pressure of 120 beats per minute (125 can be fatal). To repeat, the strain of his presence accelerates my heart rate. As you have told me, Mr. Jordan is here as a guard employed by the Senate and held accountable to Civil Service regulations. The Senate must therefore approve his

dismissal. I sincerely implore the Senate to do this, for the sake of the state of health of a 93-year-old man.

The prison log for 17 August, 1987, the day Rudolf Hess died, contains two very interesting entries. The lesser of the two is that at 10:20, Hess put in a request for 30 packets of tissue paper, two sheets of writing paper, a ruler, and three rolls of toilet paper; hardly the request of a man intending suicide just a few hours later. Second are the entries for 14:10 and 14:30. The entry for 14:10 states Hess went for a walk in the garden accompanied by Jordan, the American guard mentioned in the above letter. Twenty minutes later (although there is some question in that the time of 14:30 has been visibly altered from the original entry), Jordan reports that "an incident" has occurred. The French guard Audoin arrives on the scene and tries to resuscitate Hess, apparently without avail, as is the case with trying to find Mr. Keane. Hess does not arrive at the British Military Hospital until 15:50, a full hour and 20 minutes after the "incident."

The foregoing evidence obviously raises some very serious questions about the death of Rudolf Hess: Was Jordan hired as part of a plot to assassinate Hess? Why was the American Director, Mr. Keane, unwilling to entertain Hess's concern regarding Jordan's behavior? Why was Spandau fortress destroyed within 48 hours of Hess's death, particularly the outbuilding where he died and the alleged suicide instruments?

It is true that Hess had apparently attempted suicide at least once, in February, 1946, and it is also true there were no known Allied attempts on his life during the 41 years prior to August, 1987. On the other hand, costs to maintain Spandau Prison, with its 600 cells, 100 full-time employees and guard detachments for the Four Powers, had soared to over 100 million dollars annually. Rudolf Hess, the last remaining prisoner at Spandau since the release of Albert Speer and Baldur von Schirach in 1966, had incontestably become the most expensive prisoner in the world. This is only one of several plausible motives, however.

In August, 1990, supported by the above information, I contacted Congressman Earl Hutto, requesting an official investigation into the circumstances surrounding Hess' death. Within a month I received a cordial reply stating there were no current plans for such an effort, although my comments

would be kept on hand ". . . should Congress hold hearings on this matter." Mr. Hutto forwarded a copy of my letter and article (which included important photostats from the *Figaro* article), to the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law within the House Committee on the Judiciary. As a follow-up, I sent a second copy of the article in October, 1990 directly to New York committee member Hamilton Fish, Jr.

It is strongly urged that those interested in the Hess affair and our nation's responsibilities to truth and honor to write the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law[3] requesting an official investigation into the death of Rudolf Hess. Not only was Spandau prison under U.S. control at the time of his death, but as I have pointed out, there is reasonable concern that an American guard by the name of Jordan may have played a role.[4]

Notes

1. See *Parade*, February, 1981, pg. 6, "G. Gordon Liddy: Why Hess Will Never Break."
2. See *Mord an Rudolf Hess?*, by Hess' son Wolf Rüdiger (Leoni am Starnberger See, Germany: Druffel, 1989), pp. 191-229 for Cameron's and Spann's autopsies and Spann's official report to the author. (*Mord an Rudolf Hess?* and its English translation, *Who Murdered My Father, Rudolf Hess?* are available from the Institute for Historical Review.
3. Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law (Bruce A. Morrison [D-CT], Chairman), B370B Rayburn H.O.B., Washington, DC 20515-6217. Telephone: 1-202-225-5727.
4. Sources close to the Hess family tend at this time to doubt that Jordan himself, who still lives in Berlin and is employed by the U.S. Army, carried out the murder, but believe that he is a key witness. Their suspicion focuses on the British. —Editor

Revisionism and Censorship Down Under

JOHN BENNETT

George Orwell said that "anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself being silenced with surprising effectiveness. A genuinely unfashionable opinion is almost never given a fair hearing." J.S. Mill said that "unmeasured vituperation, employed on the side of prevailing opinion, deters people from expressing contrary opinions, and from listening to those who express them."

Historical Revisionists, such as the UK historian David Irving, whose books are in libraries and bookshops throughout the Western world, Professor Faurisson, Professor Butz and myself, who, after much research, much of it uncontradicted, have concluded there was no plan to exterminate Jews in World War II; there were no mass gassings; and fewer than one million Jews died of all causes, face such vituperation. O'Brien, a member of the "thought police" in Orwell's novel, *1984*, said: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

Dissident thinkers who challenge the accepted version of the past cannot expect a fair hearing in Australia, are subject to "unmeasured vituperation" and are not given a fair hearing. Thus my attempts to query the extent of the Holocaust of Jews in World War II have led to me being described as "more evil than Himmler and Pol Pot" (*Quadrant*), a "pathological raver" (*New Statesman*), "unhinged" (*Commentary*), "comic" and "bizarre" (*The Age*), "scum" (*3AW*) and "dangerous and foolish" (Derryn Hinch, *3AW*). A play written by a Jew from Sydney called "The Diary of Anne Frank—a Forgery?" describes me as a vicious evil neo-Nazi professional propagandist who poses as a civil libertarian and is utterly discredited. I am not afforded a right of reply to such attacks.

Gerard Henderson attacked me in an article in *The Australian* in 1989 headed "It's Time to Muzzle Lunar Rights Baying," and I was attacked in a feature article in the *Sydney*

Morning Herald in 1989 headed "Lies, Damned Lies and Hogwash." The Press Council predictably rejected my complaint about the failure of the *SMH* to publish a reply. Phillip Adams attacked me in three feature articles in *The Australian* in 1990 claiming that I was masquerading as a civil libertarian, that I was carrying on where Julius Streicher, the editor of *Der Stürmer*, left off, and that I had been spewing hate since the 1930's (I was born in 1936 and did not become a Revisionist until 1979).

Adams regards those querying the extent of the Jewish Holocaust as committing blasphemy—a curious view for a self-proclaimed skeptic and atheist. Is the official version of the Holocaust his religion? Was the recent reduction in the official figure for deaths at Auschwitz, from 4 million to about 1 million, blasphemy? The camp records indicated an even lower figure. Anti-Zionist Jews, such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, who support freedom of speech for Revisionists, claim that the "official" version of the Jewish Holocaust has become a new religion for many Jews, and for non-Jews such as Mr. Adams. It is the religious aspect of the Holocaust which places the freedom of speech of Revisionists at such risk. Anti-Zionist Jews such as Dr. Lilienthal and Noam Chomsky have defended the freedom of speech of Revisionists. The Jewish writer J.G. Burg, who was a Holocaust survivor, has denied that gassing took place at Auschwitz, and the Jewish historian Arno Mayer agrees with Revisionists that the extent of the Holocaust has been exaggerated.

The *Sunday Age*, owned by the Fairfax group, published three feature articles in July and August 1990, discussing whether alleged "racists" such as myself (and I was the only person named) should be dealt with by racial vilification legislation. The articles were triggered by a complaint against *Your Rights* to the NSW Anti-discrimination Board by the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies. The *Sunday Age* devoted more than 100 column inches to the three articles and an "over the top" cartoon and allowed me about six column inches in reply. The headings in the articles attacking me were "The Right to Be a Racist" (with a cartoon of a Neanderthal ape spewing forth hate), "Package Poison with an Inbuilt Antidote" and "Cloaking Hate with Freedom's Mantle" (with the cartoon repeated). The contents of the articles, and several letters attacking my views, did not create a climate for objective

debate and sometimes approached "unmeasured vituperation." Even if the "pathological ravings" of "unhinged," "evil" revisionists are "poisonous," the "ravings" may, if examined, and if not refuted, eventually be largely accepted.

"Freedom of the Press" seems to mean freedom for press proprietors and editors, accountable to no one, to indulge in character assassination and not give any, or any adequate, space for a reply. The only reply from me published by the *Sunday Age* (August 8, 1990) stated that Terry Lane, who wrote the first two articles and who has previously objected to racial vilification legislation because of its threat to freedom of speech, now says (August 12) that material found to be "offensive" and "poisonous" by "Nanny State" must be dealt with, by forcing the writer of the material to give equal space to those offended, and to participate in a public debate. Those seeking to censor the section in the 17th edition of *Your Rights* (written by myself) discussing Zionist power, the extent of the Jewish Holocaust, and the use of the Holocaust as a propaganda weapon for Israel oppose freedom of speech on those issues, and would reject Mr. Lane's suggestions, which are acceptable to me (without compulsion). The suggestions would be an interesting precedent for disparate groups objecting to material as diverse as *The Last Temptation of Christ*, Salman Rushdie's book *The Satanic Verses*, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, the New Testament, and daily references to the Jewish Holocaust in the media with negative stereotyping of Germans.

Mr. Lane, who has said that he would, "never ever" discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict again "because the consequences of doing so are altogether quite unnerving," has not given any explanation for his retreat on the issue of freedom of speech, especially for those he has described as "soft targets," including Historical Revisionists such as David Irving, Professor R. Faurisson and myself. My letter in reply concluded by stating that the heading to an article by Mr. Lane, "The Right To Be A Racist" (July 29), may have inferred I am a racist. I reject notions of racial superiority and racial discrimination but accept that people prefer their own kind.

After the publication of my letter, I was attacked in a *Sunday Age* feature article, headed "Cloaking Hate in Freedom's Mantle," by Mr. S. Rosenkranz, the president of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria. My unpublished reply stated

that Mr. Rosenkranz claims (falsely) that I say the Holocaust didn't happen or was a hoax, and also claims my views are racist—a word he uses often and without definition. He also falsely claims that I criticize a film for portraying Jews as, "in general," admirable (I said, "without exception") and says that the view falsely attributed to me is racist. Words such as "blasphemous" and "racist" are designed to inhibit debate, and those using such words against independent thinkers such as Historical Revisionists (Terry Lane's "soft targets") rely on those attacked being given no right of reply.

Mr. Rosenkranz, having attributed to me views I do not hold, then argues that such views are "racist," and should be dealt with by draconian anti-free speech legislation. He also justifies further free speech restrictions because the U.K., etc. have such restrictions. This is a "copy-cat" argument, which ignores the increase in racial tensions in the U.K. caused by such restrictions, documented in Russell Lewis's book *Anti-Racism—A Mania Exposed.* His argument that we should adopt restrictions because of a U.N. Covenant ignores the dominance of anti-free speech countries in the U.N. and the need to tailor laws relevant for Australia. He ignores the adequacy of existing laws to deal with criminal offences by racists. Mr. Rosenkranz's tunnel vision leads him to regard Revisionist comments in a brief section of a pamphlet with a yearly circulation of 10,000 as being "racist" on the basis of misquotations (Has he read *Your Rights*?), while he appears to lack the empathy to realize the almost daily stereotyping of Germans and Arabs in films from Hollywood with a nightly viewing audience of often more than 200,000 people are offensive to those groups. Instead of singling out a minor pamphlet for special treatment, he should consider the daily harm done by Hollywood films (often designed to help Israel) to Germans and Arabs. Why should these groups not have equal space to answer those vilifying them?

The almost daily references to the Jewish Holocaust in the media are because, as Professor W. Rubinstein has said, the Jewish Holocaust is the number one propaganda weapon for Israel. His claim that Jews have become the new socio-economic and political elite of the West helps to explain the passage of selective discriminatory war crimes legislation, described by Jim McClelland in an address with which he launched *Sanctuary*, a book by Mark Aarons, as "a sop to the

Jewish lobby." There have been many other sops. The strength of the Zionist lobby in Australia, and its role in pushing for War Crimes legislation and for racial vilification legislation as a means of imposing political censorship of Revisionists challenging the official version of the Jewish Holocaust, is discussed in a leaflet headed *War Crimes Vendetta*, available from the Australian Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Those attacking Revisionists with vituperative language will have, at some stage, to answer Revisionists, who point out that the Wannsee Conference, setting out Nazi policy for Jews, refers to evacuation to the East, not extermination; that Fred Leuchter, described in *The Atlantic* as the main authority on execution procedures in the U.S.A., including gas chambers, has found that Jews could not have been gassed by Zyklon B at Auschwitz; that the crematoria known to have existed could not have disposed of the numbers claimed to have been killed; and that an extermination campaign of which the Vatican, the Red Cross, the German resistance to Hitler, Allied Intelligence and German Intelligence were not aware could not have existed. The fate of Anne Frank, shunted from camp to camp and dying of typhus (which Zyklon B was used to combat); the survival of members of the immediate family (siblings and parents) of some of the best-known names of the Holocaust (Simon Wiesenthal, Anne Frank, Elie Wiesel, etc.); the number of survivors claiming compensation from the West German government; and the survival of the small ghetto boy photographed with his hands raised, help to validate the Revisionist case.

Those seeking to censor, intimidate, and even imprison Revisionists will be in an interesting position if the Revisionist position becomes at some stage the prevailing orthodoxy. Academic historians who refuse to answer Revisionists, and people in the media who belittle or ignore them, may be queried as to whether they have justified the power and influence given to them. The critical question, not asked and not answered, is whether the "unfashionable opinion" is correct. There are many examples in history of fashionable opinions becoming modified or abandoned. One justification for freedom of speech, given by John Stuart Mill, is that those holding unpopular opinions may be correct, or closer to the truth, than the prevailing orthodoxy.

My unpublished reply concluded by stating that as well as

reading *Your Rights*,the Leuchter Report, and the minutes of the Wannsee Conference, Mr. Rosenkranz should read John Stuart Mill (*On Liberty*), tolerate the expression of arguments he dislikes, and endeavor to answer them.

The Holocaust is so important to Zionist Jews that Professor Friedländer has said that "the Revisionist School of historians, those who say the Holocaust never existed, that it is a Jewish invention, are more worrying than countries' political positions," while Professor F. Littell has said "You can't discuss the truth of the holocaust. That is a distortion of the concept of free speech. The United States should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such exercises."

I cited some of the methods used to silence Historical Revisionism in Australia in *Censorship of Dissident Opinions*, available from the ACLU. More drastic measures are used in some other countries. A Revisionist received a two-year jail sentence in Canada, a Revisionist in France was assassinated, Professor Faurisson was suspended from his teaching position in France, Henri Roques had his Ph.D. (granted for research on aspects on the Holocaust) revoked, a retired judge in West Germany had his law degree revoked and the plates of his book *The Auschwitz Myth* seized, other writers in West Germany have been jailed, and the headquarters and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review was burnt to the ground in the U.S.A. For further information, write to the ACLU for a leaflet headed *"The Worldwide Persecution of Dissent."*

All of the attacks on Revisionists (including Jewish Revisionists) I have mentioned have one thing in common. They are subjected to character assassination but no, or very little, attempt is made to refute their arguments.

[This article is adapted from *Your Rights 1991*, published by John Bennett for the Australian Civil Liberties Union, Box 1137, Carlton 3053, Australia. —Ed.]

Swedish Professors Defend Revisionism on Trial

R. CLARENCE LANG

What is the driving conviction behind Holocaust Revisionism? One answer might be that historical truths cannot be decided in or by the courts, for ultimately there can be no historical scholarship without freedom of research and expression.

Yet, up to now the Holocaust propagandists have used the courts on a broad scale to becloud this simple, basic truth. Note the words up to now, for recently Jan Hjaerpe and Jan Bergmann, two professors in Sweden, have confronted a court of judges in their country on this issue, in connection with the trial of Ahmed Rami in Stockholm.

Who is Ahmed Rami and what was the Rami trial?

Rami, a political refugee in Sweden for some years, is a Berber by birth and a former Moroccan army officer. Highly gifted and vocal, he passionately espouses the cause of the Palestinian people, most of whom are his fellow Muslims. Author of five books in Swedish, in 1987 he founded and directed Radio Islam, broadcasting to Swedes and the some 80,000 Muslims living in Sweden. He also used his broadcasting to inform his listeners about Revisionism, in particular the work of Dr. Robert Faurisson and the "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, Canada. Like Faurisson, Rami links the Holocaust to the plight of the Palestinians. For, besides the German people, but not its leaders, Faurisson sees the Palestinians, dispossessed of their homeland by the Zionists, as victims of the Holocaust propaganda.

For Rami, who has made it a point to interview noted Swedes, Holocaust Revisionism is more than a passive intellectual, historical pursuit. It is instead an active, first, necessary ideological step in the liberation of the Palestinian people. Accordingly, as long as the Holocaust remains unchallenged historically in the Western world, so long will it

victimize the Palestinians. Rami recalls a quote attributed to Charles de Gaulle, who at the end of World War II claimed that for the Palestinians, World War II was merely a battle in an ongoing war. In this light, then, the *intifada* is really a continuation of World War II.

For such outspokenness, Rami's Islam Radio was legally closed, and Rami was brought before a Swedish court on September 5, 1989 in a trial that lasted until November of that year. Rami was convicted and sentenced to a six-month term for violating his radio license, and for broadcasting anti-Semitism and hatred. Some claim, perhaps presumptuously, that the widely publicized international anti-hate convention in Oslo, at the end of August and the beginning of September 1990, attended by some 500 persons from all over the world, was organized by Elie Wiesel and others expressly to sustain an international campaign against Rami's small one-room radio station in Stockholm. To be sure, at this time Rami's case was being appealed.

Since Sweden was neutral in both world wars, it may well be more open to Revisionism than other European countries. There are no world war veterans' organizations, let alone groups of former resistants to German occupation as in France, Norway and Denmark. Thus it is less surprising that precisely in Sweden there has developed a confrontation between the university, with its traditional freedom for research and publication, and the courts, which may use their power to curb this freedom.

Professor Jan Hjaerpe of the University of Lund exemplified this confrontation in his testimony for Rami. Professor Hjaerpe testified that, in his opinion, Rami had contributed to a better understanding regarding Israel and Judaism in the debate over the Palestinian issue. The professor told the judge that a court is not competent to decide in debates on pollitical, historical and ideological issues. He stressed as well that treating the Holocaust as an area for historical study entails that such study be opened to the freedom of critical research, including doubt and denial. Furthermore, if one hinders the right to deny (this includes also the Establishment version of World War II), then one transforms Exterminationism into a religious dogma, i.e. a matter based on faith and not reason.

According to this argument, since Zionists have used the Holocaust as part of their historical and political claim to the

legitimacy of the State of Israel, as a result seriously encroaching on the rights of the Palestinians, these, then, have a right to discuss, debate and closely examine the case for and against the Holocaust.

Professor Jan Bergmann, of the theological faculty in Uppsala, also defended Rami in court, despite a bitter press campaign waged against this scholar of ancient oriental and comparative religions. Professor Bergmann was asked his scholarly opinion as to whether Rami's claims regarding certain texts in the Old Testament (as it is called by non-Jews) and the Talmud were historically correct, since these texts allegedly claim that the Jews have a right to Palestine even at the expense of its long-time inhabitants. (And this without clear geographical borders!) Bergmann agreed with Rami's interpretation. More explicitly, the theologian testified that the sacred texts of the Old Testament and the Talmud, cited by Rami, are indeed being used today by Israel and the Zionists as political and historical warrants to exploit and to legitimatize the Jewish occupation of Palestine. (Some call these the "cruel" texts of the Bible. Christians see these texts through the light of the New Testament.)

Although this testimony was not Revisionist as such, the Jewish publication *Judish Kroenika* (April, 1989) claimed that Professor Bergmann is a Holocaust Revisionist. Allegedly, in a conversation during an airplane flight from Israel, the professor expressed doubt that some 6,000,000 Jews perished in World War II, and that the actual number was rapidly expanded after the war by Jewish organizations to create a more favorable climate for the establishment of Israel. The same publication also accused the professor of seeing in Robert Faurisson's *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* serious research, thereby implying doubt as to the authenticity of the *Diary*.

Unlike these two professors, Krister Stendahl, the retired bishop of Stockholm, now a honorary professor at Harvard University, was flown in from the U.S. to testify against Rami. Professor Stendahl testified that the Jews alone have the right to interpret their Old Testament, upon which Rami questioned whether that right also included the right to drive out and exterminate the Palestinian people. Stendahl, a Lutheran, claimed that Luther's writing, *The Jews and Their Lies*, was un-Christian and that Luther was an anti-Semite.

According to an article by Rami, the former bishop has advocated the return of Christians to the religion of their origin, that is, Judaism. Further, Professor Stendahl accepts the Zionist definition of Zionism: the national liberation movement for the Jewish people.

Rami in his writings makes little or no distinction between Zionism and Judaism, insisting that Zionism, in so far as the Palestinians are concerned, is the logical expression of Judaism, both being grounded in the same interpretation and understanding of the Old Testament and the Talmud. He sees therein an eternal hate-filled tension, as Jews dislocate the Palestinians and attempt to drive wedges between the Islamic nations, and a wedge between Christianity and Islam.

In a public declaration in the name of academic freedom, the theological professor in the University of Uppsala supported Professor Bergmann's academic freedom. (That is, the freedom of the professor, in his area, to research a topic and publish his findings, without jeopardizing his university standing.)

At the same time, Rami and professors Hjaerpe and Bergman have been supported in the Swedish press by Jan Myrdal, the son of the late famous professor and Nobel Prize winner Gunner Myrdal (in an article in *Folket i Bild*, a periodical published by an organization with the same name).

These developments in Sweden on the highest academic level, the university, give Revisionism reason for optimism, by supporting the position, of particular importance to Revisionists in view of international legal efforts, that it is the very nature of historical truths that these cannot be decided in or by courts. Human history, like life itself, is much, much more complicated than that.

Letters

DAMNING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE?

To the Editor:

You were good enough to send me the Winter 1990-91 issue of your *Journal of Historical Review*, which contains a piece by Mr. David Irving under the title "Battleship Auschwitz." Readers of his "remarks presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference" might conclude that there is no tangible and damning documentary evidence relating to mass gassing of human beings at Auschwitz-Birkenau. They would be quite wrong.

On the 88th day of the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, 11 September 1964, the Presiding Judge, Dr. Hofmeyer, questioned the signatory of one of the "Fahrgenehmigungen"—[i.e. travel] authorizations—to fetch "materials for the resettlement of the Jews" at Dessau in a 5-ton truck with trailer, dated 2. 10. 1942. The travel order (Fahrbefehl) is identical with the "Funkspruch [radio message] Nr. 13" from WVHA [the SS "Economic and Administrative Main Office"] at Oranienburg to the Kommandantur Auschwitz, received at the SS Standort-Funkstelle [garrison radio center] Auschwitz on the same 2. 10. 1942, signed bottom left by "F.D.R. Selle [?] Funkstellenleiter" ["Certified by Selle, radio center chief"]:

> Fahrgenehmigung für einen 5 To. LKW mit Anhänger nach Dessau u. zurück, zwecks Abholung von Materialien für die Judenumsiedlung, wird hiermit erteilt. Dem Kraftfahrer ist diese Fahrgenehmigung mitzugeben.
>
> signed: Liebehenschel. SS-Oberstubaf. ständiger Vertreter des Leiters der Dienstst. im Range eines Gen. Leutnants d. Waffen-SS
>
> [Travel authorization is hereby given to go to Dessau and back, in a five-ton truck, with trailer, for the purpose of obtaining material for the resettlement of the Jews. This travel authorization is to be given to the driver.
>
> signed: Liebehenschel. SS Lt. Colonel, permanent representative of the chief of the agency with the rank of a Lt. General in the Waffen SS.]

When R. Mulka (camp adjutant), who signed the "Fahrgenehmigung" (authorization for the truck driver) was asked by Judge Hofmeyer on the 11 Sept. 1964: "Also, Mulka, was verstehen Sie nun unter Material für die Judenumsiedlung?" ["So, Mulka, what is your understanding of the words 'material for resettlement of the Jews'?"], Mulka's reply was: "Na, ja. ["Well, yeah.] Zyklon B."

Mulka was given 14 years, and he was lucky at that!

The written authorization from WVHA at Oranienburg to Kommandantur Auschwitz of the 26.8.1942 states:

> Betr.: Fahrgenehmigung
> Bez.: Dort. Antrag v. 26. 8. 42
>
> Fahrgen. für einen LKW nach Dessau zur Abholung von Material für Sonderbeh. wird hiermit erteilt. Farhgen. ist dem Kraftf. mitzugeben.
>
> [Subject: Travel Authorization
> Ref.: Request of 26 Aug. 1942
>
> Travel authorization for a truck to go to Dessau to pick up material for special treatment is hereby given. Travel authorization is to be given to the driver.]
>
> Signed as in the WVHA written authorization of the 2. 10. 1942 "F.D.R. Selle Funkstellenleiter" [Certified by Selle, radio center chief.].

These 2 authorizations and Mulka's confession and admission in court on the 11 September 1964 require no further comment from me. None of the similar messages was ever decoded by the British decoders at Bletchley Park. I have discussed this matter with my colleague Prof. Sir Harry Hinsley, who confirmed this.

These wartime documents have been available for a good many years, of course, and more have been found by me very recently.

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Editor's Response:

As Prof. Fleming notes, the documents of 26 August 1942 and 2 October 1942 that he cites here are indeed well known. They are quoted, for example, in: E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (1986), pp. 223-224.

They are also cited by the prominent anti-Revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac in his important 1989 study, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 556-577. In the case of the authorization of 2 Oct. 1942, Pressac gives the complete text in both facsimile and translation (p. 557).

According to Pressac, less than five percent of the Auschwitz supply of Zyklon B was used for homicidal gassings. He maintains that more than 95 percent, and perhaps as much as 97 or 98 percent, was used at Auschwitz for disinfestation delousing of clothes and buildings. Zyklon gas was used overwhelmingly to kill the vermin that spread disease. That is, it was used to save lives. (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 15, 188. See also: R. Faurisson, *JHR*, Spring 1991, p. 38, and *JHR*, Summer 1991, 140.)

The real meaning of "material for the resettlement of the Jews" and "material for special treatment" becomes clear when these travel authorization papers are considered along with another in this same series. The very similar authorization of 22 July 1942, which Fleming does not cite, likewise permits a five-ton truck to go from Auschwitz to Dessau. But in this case the document specifically mentions that the purpose is "to pick up gas [Zyklon] for gassing in the camp, to combat the epidemic that has broken out." This transport of Zyklon was actually meant to save lives because, as Pressac acknowledges (p. 556), "a typhus epidemic was in fact raging in the camp."

In view of all this, it is difficult to agree with Prof. Fleming's comment that Mulka was "lucky" to receive a 14-year prison sentence for his role in delivering Zyklon to Auschwitz.

What is perhaps most remarkable about Prof. Flemings' letter is his implicit suggestion that the two travel authorization papers he cites are the most "tangible and damning documentary evidence" in existence for "mass gassings of human beings at Auschwitz-Birkenau." Prof. Fleming has unintentionally confirmed that documentary evidence for homicidal gassings at Auschwitz simply does not exist.

In spite our very different views, we appreciate Prof. Flemings' letter as a contribution to fruitful dialogue on this complex issue. We look forward to continuing this useful exchange of views.

—Mark Weber, Associate Editor

DIFFERING VIEWS OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

To the Editor:

As editor of *Christian News*, I have often recommended *The Journal of Historical Review* and the *IHR Newsletter* to our readers. I wish that every clergyman, teacher and professor would read your publications. At the same time, though, I regret that the IHR continues to defend the position taken by IHR editorial advisor Dr. Martin Larson on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In his 1981 essay, "Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?" (*Journal*, Summer 1982), Larson sought to show that Christianity is a man-made religion that was heavily influenced by the Essenes, an anti-establishment Jewish sect, and that John the Baptist and Jesus were very likely followers of this cult. Larson went on to suggest that Christian and Jewish interests have conspired to suppress the Scrolls because of what they supposedly reveal about the non-divine origins of Christianity, and because they depict the Jewish leaders of the time in highly unflattering terms.

In the February 13, 1989, issue of *Christian News*, we reprinted Larson's essay, along with a thoughtful and detailed refutation by Raymond Surburg, Ph.D., Th.D, of Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Dr. Surburg showed that, however well-informed he may be about other matters, Larson is out of his field when he writes about the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Bible and Christianity.

Surburg also noted:

> As far as Larson's charge is concerned that both Israel and Christians have much to gain from the non-publication of the remaining finds, this writer would contend that Christianity as reflected in the New Testament is *sui generis* and differs from the theology of the Pharisees, Sadduccees, Essenes, the Qumran sectaries, the Zealots, or whatever religious views might be found at Qumran in the future.

In my own presentation at the 1989 IHR Conference, I said that Larson did not have the facts and evidence to back up his speculations. (*Christian News*, Feb. 20, p. 9)

An item in the January 1991 *IHR Newsletter*, "The Scrolls: The Plot Thickens," commends Larson's 1981 essay, and suggests that the removal of Dr. John Strugnell of the Harvard Divinity School as chief editor of the Scrolls committee, as well as the controversy surrounding his removal, support Larson's view of the Scrolls. In fact, the Strugnell affair does not validate Larson's main point in any way.

Even some of those who have been complaining most loudly about the great delay in publishing the Scrolls, including the *Biblical Archaeology Review*, acknowledge that this delay has nothing to do with their contents.

Nothing has been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls to support Larson's contention that Christianity is a man-made religion. Instead, the Scrolls confirm the accuracy of the Hebrew text that Christians have been using for centuries.

The Christian is not a bigot. He does not fear the truth, but carefully evaluates all the relevant evidence in all areas. There is far more compelling evidence for Christianity than for any other religion. Christianity alone is divinely revealed. It is based on historic fact.

Herman Otten, Editor-Publisher, *Christian News*

Editor's Response:

It deserves to be repeated, and emphasized, that the position of the Institute for Historical Review on the matter of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the basis for its support of Dr. Larson's articles, regarded the withholding of the Scrolls by a small coterie of scholars, backed by the state of Israel. The recent release of copies of the Scrolls by the Huntington Library in San Marino, California to the larger community of competent scholars will eventually furnish much more evidence bearing on Dr. Larson's, and the Reverend Otten's, differing theories on the origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and Christianity. Needless to say, the Institute for Historical Review takes no position on theological matters.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe, Editor

(*continued from page 260*)

in France, to found a Revisionist Latin League: Teutonic Revisionists take note (or better, *notate bene*).

Like most contributors to the journal, Doug Collins is a man of parts—bulldoglike-Englishman, World War II combat veteran and POW, award-winning Canadian journalist, and uncompromising defender of freedom of speech and the press. As he makes clear, Collins is skeptical of more than one Revisionist argument, often on his own experience, but he wants no part of the Establishment's permanent hate-mongering against the Germans. Furthermore, and most important, he scores the press of own country for its cowardly submission to special interests, Jewish and otherwise, which decreed a practical news blackout of the second trial of Ernst Zündel, and which continues hypocritically to evade the issue of suppression of unpopular speech and writing from the politically incorrect, while functioning as a virtual cheering section for every Communist crank and pornographer. As we American Revisionists know as well as anyone, just because a man doesn't go to jail for unpopular opinions doesn't mean there is real freedom of the press—a mass media which is uniformly hostile to, or blacks out, an important point of view might just as well be subject to state censorship.

Carl Nordling, a professional demographer, takes another look at the very open question—for Revisionists and, increasingly, even non-Revisionists—of how many Jews died in Europe during the Second World War. Nordling's synthesizing of the population and mortality estimates for European Jewry during the war years from the best Revisionist and Exterminationist sources with his own small-scale study of the fate of a cohort of several hundred individual Jews should open new vistas for Revisionist researchers in search of an accounting of the actual (and no less deplorable) losses suffered by Jews during the war to replace the fraudulent numerological fetish of the "Six Million."

Then Frederick Kerr takes under review a textbook on a subject that has been all but flogged to death in the universities and schools over the past several decades, to wit *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe 1815-1945*. As Dr. Kerr points out, students may learn more about that subject than

their educator, Israeli professor, Shmuel Almog, and his publisher, Britain-based international media czar (or is that tsar?), Robert Maxwell, bargained for.

Robert Clive, an expert on the history of the Second World War, examines David Martin's account of Britain's (and America's) betrayal of yet another anti-Communist World-War-II ally, Serbian General Draza Mihailovic.

This issue of *The Journal* has an usually long, and very newsy, "Historical News and Comment Section." As Associate Editor Mark Weber, Dan Desjardins, and *JHR* Editorial Advisors John Bennett and Dr. Clarence Lang demonstrate, the enemies of historical truth are in retreat, and it's not a pretty sight, particularly when these powerful malefactors are devoting all their considerable resources to covering up their crimes and misdeamors by muzzling their critics. But murder will out, whether the murder of Rudolf Hess or of historical fact or of free inquiry, as these four articles testify.

In this issue, for the first time in some years, The Journal has published two letters from readers. We hope to continue publishing informed letters, with preference given to communications taking reasoned issue with, or adding materially to, articles previously published in *The JHR*.

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Your editor has one final, pleasant task, to announce that on September 19, Mel Mermelstein and his pricey Beverly Hills lawyers voluntarily dismissed their complaints of libel, conspiracy, and intentional infliction of emotional distress against the Institute for Historical Review; its founder, Willis A. Carto; and the populist Liberty Lobby. Just hours earlier, Judge Stephen Lachs had dismissed Mermelstein's fourth complaint, for malicious prosecution, Aside from ending a potentially devastating $11 million suit, the end of the Mermelstein case, barring an appeal, rings down the curtain on a ten-year-long melodrama of costly, time-consuming litigation with one of America's most-honored "Holocaust survivors." An upcoming issue of *The Journal* will include an examination of what the Mermelstein case has involved, and produced, of note, historiographically as well as institutionally, for IHR and Revisionism.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

ENRIQUE AYNAT, a Spaniard, is the author of *El Diario ABC y El Holocausto*, a study of Spain's leading daily newspaper's wartime coverage of the "Holocaust," and *Los "Protocolos de Auschwitz": ¿Una Fuente Historica?* (The "Auschwitz Protocols": A Historical Source?), an important study of the first detailed allegations of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz.

JOHN BENNETT is a leading Australian civil liberties attorney and Revisionist publicist. He is an honors graduate of the University of Melbourne in both law (1958) and arts (1966). For some years he worked for the Attorney General's Department, most notably in the legal aid section. From 1966 to 1980 he was secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. He has been president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union since 1980. Bennett is the author of *Your Rights*, a standard Australian civil rights reference handbook that has appeared in eighteen editions, revised and updated since the first in 1974.

ROBERT CLIVE, Ph.D., is the pen-name of a professor of history who teaches at a university in the Pacific northwest.

DOUG COLLINS was born in England in 1920. During the Second World War he served with the British army in Europe. In 1952 he emigrated to Canada where he has had a distinguished career as a journalist for newspapers, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. Since 1983, Collins has been a columnist for the *North Shore News* (British Columbia). For journalistic excellence, he received Canada's National Newspaper Award (1953), and the MacMillian Bloedel Award (1975). Collins is the author of several books, including *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (published in 1968 by W.W. Norton), *Immigration: The Destruction of English Canada* (1979), and *The Best and Worst of Doug Collins* (1988).

D.D. DESJARDINS holds two bachelor's degrees (from Florida State University and the University of New Mexico), and is a member of the Phi Alpha Theta Historical Society.

FREDERICK KERR holds a Ph.D. in Modern European History and has taught at the college level at institutions in the West and Midwest.

R. CLARENCE LANG is a retired professor of German and history. He earned a B.A. at Wartburg College in Iowa and a baccalaureate of divinity from the Wartburg Seminary. After an M.A. in history at the University of South Dakota, he obtained a Ph.D. in history at the University of Kiel (Germany). Dr. Lang has served as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor in Canada and the Dakotas.

CARL NORDLING was born in Helsinki, Finland in 1919. He qualified as an architect in Helsinki and Stockholm, but his professional work has been mostly in the field of demographic and other statistical investigations connected with master planning. He has published a great number of articles in various scientific fields, including six in the English language.

BRIAN A. RENK was born in British Columbia in 1964. He has studied at Selkirk College and the University of British Columbia (Vancouver), with a special interest in history and philosophy. He now lives in Ottawa, where he is studying towards a degree in history.

Required Reading on the Auschwitz Myth
Now more than ever!

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century
by Arthur Butz, $9.95
Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence
by Wilhelm Stäglich, $11.95
The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry
by Walter Sanning, $12.95
The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses
by Paul Rassinier, $12.00
The Leuchter Report **(Special Edition)**
by Fred A. Leuchter, $20.00

Holocaust Revisionism is on the march, and the Establishment is in retreat. ***The Leuchter Report***, the official lowering of the Auschwitz death toll, the release of key Auschwitz death records—all these developments signal the coming end of the 20th century's most pernicious, and until now, durable hoax.

What set off the Revisionist trend that has the myth on its deathbed? The initial work of such men as the former Buchenwald inmate Paul Rassinier, the French Father of Holocaust Revisionism; Professor Arthur Butz, whose brilliant, systematic ***Hoax*** laid the basis for today's inquiry into the wartime reality of Auschwitz-Birkenau; Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, who brought legal training and experience to bear on the evidence and testimony for mass killing at Auschwitz; and Walter Sanning, who destroyed the counterfeit demographic basis for the "Six Million" canard.

These books remain as vital and powerful as ever. That's why they're still banned and seized in many countries, and continue to be blacklisted by major book distributors and on college and high school reading lists. If you've read them already, why not deal the fast-fading Auschwitz Myth another blow by making a gift of one or more of them to someone who hasn't?

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